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ORIGINAL LETTERS

LOCKE

AND

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

WITH AN ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF

THE NATURE AND OPINIONS OF LOCKE.

AND OTHER PARLIAMENT DUTIES.

IN

A VISION OF THE "CHARACTERISTICS."

BY

T. FORSTER, M.R.I.A. M.A.S.

MEMB. OF THE ACAD. OF N. SCIENCES AT PHILADELPHIA, &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARD AND SON, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1830.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF

LOCKE;

ALGERNON SIDNEY;

AND

ANTHONY LORD SHAFTESBURY,

AUTHOR OF THE "CHARACTERISTICS."

WITH AN ANALYTICAL SKETCH OF

THE WRITINGS AND OPINIONS OF LOCKE

AND OTHER METAPHYSICIANS,

BY

T. FORSTER, M.B. F.L.S. M.A.S.

CORR. MEMB. OF THE ACAD. OF N. SCIENCE AT PHILADELPHIA, &c.

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PREFACE.

In the publication of letters written by persons long deceased, and to which any considerable degree of curiosity may be attached, the first thing necessary seems to be, to satisfy the public mind of their authenticity. In the present instance this is a very easy thing to be done, for the letters of Locke, of Algernon Sidney, and of the Earl of Shaftesbury, published in this volume, addressed to Mr. Furly of Rotterdam, came, by the death of that gentleman, into the possession of my grandfather, Mr. Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, in Essex, among other very curious manuscripts: at his death, which took place on the 20th of April 1812, they became the property of my father, Mr. Thomas Furly Forster, of Clapton; at whose death, in October 1825, they came into my hands, and were made my property by an

act of his will, dated April 1824, together with large collection of the manuscript correspondence and other works of some celebrated writers who flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.*

Perhaps the most curious object in the whole parcel of papers to which I allude, is a MS. copy of Mr. Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," written in a very neat hand, in a small 12mo book, but much crossed out and altered, and full of corrections in the author's own handwriting. There is a date 1685 to this book; but it is written in a very much blacker ink than the rest of the work, and is evidently inserted at a subsequent period, at a mere guess; for I have good reason to believe the MS. in question to be the original copy of the work, just as Mr. Locke first wrote it, and

* Among others are the correspondence of Toup, the Author of "Emendationes in Suidam," with Bishop Warburton; several very curious letters of Mr. Gough the antiquary, &c. &c. &c. Many of these curiosities may one day or other be confided to my friend Mr. Nichols for publication.

even before he ever seriously thought of sending it to the press.*

Long before I determined on the publication of Locke's Letters, and even while the manuscript remained in my father's possession, it had been suggested both to him and to me, that the publication of the whole of the papers, just as they were found, would be a very acceptable present to the literary public: but I confess I hesitated about the propriety thereof, considering that the letters were of a private nature, and, independently of their not con-

* Should I have leisure at some subsequent period, I hope to collate this curious Manuscript with the published editions of the "Essay on the Understanding," and to publish some account of the variations in the text, in order to trace the workings of Locke's metaphysical mind through his various changes of sentiment or of diction; for it seems to me that he altered, in a great measure, his opinions respecting both religion and philosophy at different parts of his life. But whatever I shall publish of Locke's or any other deceased author will be done with this express reservation, that whatever appears of such a nature that he, if he had lived, would have wished it kept private, shall be suppressed. I mention this, because I am of opinion that the unreserved publication of men's opinions in posthumous works of this kind, is neither fair nor honorable, and the practice prevails too much in our day.

taining any thing of great public interest, I questioned how far any man's familiar writings could, consistently with a strict sense of honour, be submitted to the public; considering how frequently men of genius and inquiry change their sentiments, and how much opinions on political and religious subjects are apt to get interwoven with familiar correspondence. Mr. Edward Forster had always entertained strong objections against the printing of letters at all, and used to say, that what one man believed or thought, could be no business of any other man's, and that private letters and sentiments, however ancient, ought not to be divulged to the public by posterity.

He certainly carried his opinions respecting the confidential nature of the correspondence of celebrated men much further than is usual. My father, however, when he became possessed of the papers, entertained a different opinion; and both he and my father in law, the late Colonel Beaufoy, rather urged me in the year 1817, to undertake the publication of the best of the manuscripts of Locke, both as an entertaining mode of employing my own time, and likewise because it was thought that the public

would be interested in the perusal of any thing new from the pen of such a renowned writer. Professional avocations, the going with my family abroad, and various other circumstances, prevented me from this undertaking, and it was not till the autumn of 1825, that my father again invited me to his house at Walthamstow, to revise with him the manuscripts for the press. His lamented death, which took place on the night following the festival of SS. Simon and Jude in that year, again put a stop to the work; and it was not till the winter of 1828, that, ransacking an immense collection of papers which I had carelessly laid by in a lumber room after his death, I stumbled on the case containing the curious writings in question; in which case they seem to have been deposited ever since they came into the possession of our family. On examining the parcel, it appeared to me that the publication of an edition of the Essay concerning Understanding, from the original manuscript copy before alluded to, would be a work both of great expense and of much labour, and I therefore abandoned it, from the want of time to superintend it. But, at the wish of several friends, I have selected some of the letters for

publication, and have added to them a few of Algernon Sidney, together with the correspondence of Lord Shaftesbury, which, being addressed to the same Mr. Furly, were contained in the same box. Of what degree of interest they are possessed the public will be the best judges; but for my part, and as far as my own opinion goes, the circumstance of their being the productions of men so well known and respected in the literary world, constitute their principal claim to notice; I have therefore printed the letters verbatim. The subjects of Mr. Locke's letters are often of an amusing family nature; those of Algernon Sidney relate mostly to business; while Lord Shaftesbury's writings, though they relate in a great measure to antient affairs, mixed with domestic concerns, nevertheless treat of events as well as of opinions, that will never entirely lose their interest with the generality of mankind. But, although the letters of all the writers, whose works are here recorded, relate here and there to the great struggle for *freedom of conscience*, which was then beginning to manifest itself in the minds of thinking men; who opposed themselves boldly to the tyranny of the Church of England, and of the corrupt legislators

that supported it in those days of bigotry and oppression; yet the advance of liberal principles has been of late so rapid, compared with any thing that could have been achieved in the last century, and the establishment of the great principle of *civil and religious liberty* has been subsequently so complete, after a hard struggle on the part of liberal men of all religious and political creeds, that the feeble efforts of Locke, Sidney, Shaftesbury, and other writers of those days, may, to *superficial* observers, seem to be quite lost, amidst the victories which Charles Fox and his party in England, and O'Connell and the association in Ireland, have at length obtained under the enlightened administration of the Duke of Wellington, over the minions of a narrowminded and selfish monopoly.

I cannot help here making one curious remark, namely, that the freedom of conscience from all civil disabilities, so ardently desired by Locke and Sidney, has at length been brought about by the very party to whom those men in *those days* were opposed, namely, the Catholics; for, had it not been for the efforts of the liberal Catholics of Ireland, our own country would certainly not yet have been freed

from those oppressive laws by which conscience till now remained shackled. And this circumstance, curious enough in itself to excite inquiry, I hold to furnish a satisfactory guarantee, that, however much Catholic policy may *formerly* have partaken of the persecuting spirit of the times, there is now nothing more to be apprehended from it, nor, indeed, from the bigotry and oppression of any party whatever.*

* Persecution appears to have been characteristic of the times in which it prevailed, rather than of any particular religion; and perhaps the interest which tyrannical states of old took in religion, and the handle they made of it, had a greater share than any thing else in converting the mild and selfdenying spirit of Christianity into a source of pride, oppression, and cupidity. Persecution is as old as the world's history reaches: with respect to Christianity, it began with the Roman Emperors, and has prevailed more or less ever since. The pretended Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, persecuted with as much fury, as those did against whom they directed their shafts, and the mutual accusations of heresy preferred by one party against the other, rendered the religious before and at the time of Locke a complete Babel, as he has expressed himself in more instances than one. The members of the Church of England were guilty, at the period of Locke's expulsion from Oxford, of shocking instances of persecution, and the party to whom Locke was most attached, namely the Quakers, suffered more than any other body from it, the gaols in England being full of them; an instructive history of which may be seen in

If we examine the spirit of the present times, and the actual state of religious and civil liberty in England, we shall find it to be superior to any thing that has existed since the commencement of the Reformation. For, though the same differences of opinion prevail now that prevailed formerly, yet religions are now all placed on the same footing; and, as the sword can no longer support the one, nor the faggot terrify the other, while liberty is extended to all, the fairest chance is now offered for truth to prevail, since fair argument is unshackled, hypocrisy disarmed, and the equality of civil rights extended to all parties. This state of things is in reality the upshot of the principles contended for by Locke, Sidney, and Shaftesbury; and for the establishment of which there has been a long though frequently

Sewell's "History of the Friends." That the Catholic Church was made the instrument of persecution during many ages, cannot be denied; but it was at a remote period of history, and, though long established habit could not be at once broken, yet the spirit of the times gradually gave way to improvement in knowledge, and a restoration of Christianity to its primitive purity gradually supervened. The principles of St. Ignatius of Loyola gradually destroyed what persecuting and monopolizing spirit was left in the Catholic Church; while the bigotry of the Protestant establishment was subdued by the efforts of the Quakers, the Philosophers, and the Liberals.

interrupted struggle. Although I may differ essentially from the religious opinions of the Protestant party of that bigoted period, yet I should hope that in the principles of liberty for which they contended, and which would guarantee to all men the safe and unmolested exercise of the real or imaginary duties which arise out of their particular creeds, all thinking men were at length agreed, and will be ready to acknowledge, that, since the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, the protection of all good subjects from the annoyance of any who may be inclined to molest them, should, as far as religion be concerned, constitute the limits of legislative interference.

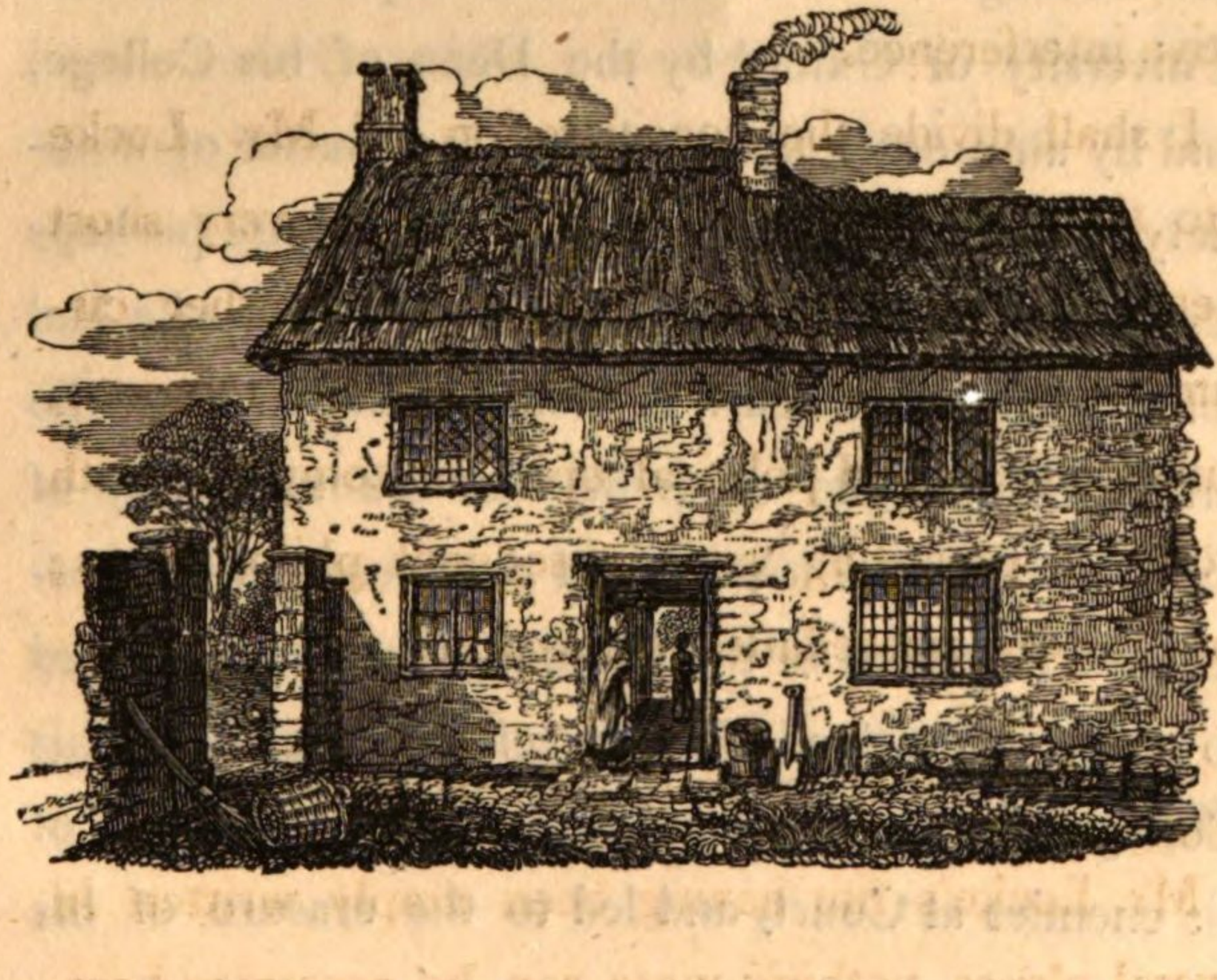
I shall divide the consideration of Mr. Locke into three distinct portions: First, A very short sketch of the birth, parentage, and other circumstances of the author; secondly, his religious, philosophical, and political opinions compared with those of preceding and subsequent philosophers; and, thirdly, miscellaneous anecdotes.

§ 1. OF THE BIRTH, &c. OF MR. LOCKE.

Mr. Locke's life having been amply written in several places, nothing more can be necessary here,

than a very short sketch of the principal circumstances attending it, for the amusement of those readers who may not be in possession of the Biographia Britannica, and other works containing his life at greater length.

John Locke was born on the festival of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1632, at Wrington, in Somersetshire, in a small country house, of which the following is a sketch (obligingly lent by Mr. Rutter, author of the "Delineations of Somersetshire," a very pleasing topographical volume).



He received the rudiments of his classical education at Westminster, and was entered in 1651 as student of Christchurch, Oxford. Here he made great progress, but being much fonder of the works of Des Cartes than of the dry scholastic studies o the college, he took an insurmountable aversion to the course of university education as it was pursued at Oxford; and it is from this period, that, following the course of studies into which the perusal of Des Cartes led him, we may date the ultimate developement of his philosophy of the human mind, as delivered in an "Essay concerning Human Understanding." That Locke was expelled from the University of Oxford by the Dean of his College, and by an order from the King, is a matter of notoriety, but the particulars of that ejection are perhaps less generally known: the fact was, that Locke had followed the then Earl of Shaftesbury in his exile into Holland, and so great was the animosity of party at that time towards all the friends of the persecuted President of the Council, that Locke feared to return to England, and his refusal to return to his College when invited, only aggravated the anger of his enemies at Court, and led to the erasure of his

name from the list of students. On the accession of James II. Penn the Quaker, who was the friend of Locke, had nearly obtained from the King a pardon for him; but Locke, thinking his offences against the state to be only imaginary, refused it, and preferred his exile and the *otium cum dignitate* in retirement. Though Locke's life has been amply written years ago, yet I mention these particulars merely to account for his long stay in Holland; as the reader will perceive that most of his familiar letters to Mr. Furly, of Rotterdam, were dated from Amsterdam, where Locke resided, and where he contributed towards the advancement of literature in the Low Countries. It was at this period that he, together with Limborch and Le Clerc, formed the "*Litteraturische Societät von Amsterdam*," in the year 1686. It is said by some of his biographers that he finished his celebrated "Essay on Human Understanding" for the press, in the following year; but I have reason to think that the original MS. of that book, which I have in my possession, is a work of a much earlier period, as I have already said; and that the date affixed in a different

ink has been done at random by some of his posterity.

I shall now pass over, for the reason before stated, the rest of the particulars of Locke's Life, and of his various publications on Religious Toleration, &c. and proceed to some other considerations. Suffice it therefore to say, that Mr. Locke left Holland in 1688, and took up his residence in London, and eventually at Oates near Laver in Essex, in the house of Sir Francis Masham, where, as I find recorded in a MS. account of his death, he died suddenly on St. Simon and Jude's Day in 1704, in th 73d year of his age, while Lady Masham was reading to him. He was buried in the church of that village, where there is a monument with a Latin inscription erected to his memory.

§ 2. OF MR. LOCKE'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

So much has already been said of Mr. Locke's religious and political opinions, that it would seem there was little left to be said on that subject. Some of his biographers have affirmed positively that he was a strict Socinian; others have laboured

to prove that he was a supporter of the Arian heresy; and others that he was friendly to the principles of the Quakers; while all agree that he was inimical both to the doctrines, ecclesiastical policy, and discipline of the Church of England, and was the avowed enemy of episcopalian polity in general. Of the latter fact there can be no doubt, as the whole of his religious writings testify: but I should hesitate much, from the perusal of his manuscript as well as his published writings, in describing Locke either as a Socinian or even as an Arian. With a strong and natural love of liberty, and an implacable animosity to a bigoted ecclesiastical polity as a groundwork, he seems, like other philosophers who have wandered away from the Catholic Church, the common mother of Christianity, to have been versatile and wavering in his opinions, and to have partaken at different times of his life of the doctrines of more than one or even two of her apostate children. For example; his bias towards Arianism in early life, and which he founded on the unrestrained exercise of the assumed privilege of a private interpretation of the Scriptures, was afterwards much modified by his friendship and inter-

course with the Quakers, to whose principles, in spite of his goodhumoured sneers and the playful sarcasms in which he now and then indulged, I am persuaded he was much attached. Neither, indeed, could it well have been otherwise; since, whatever may be our difference in opinion from the Society of Friends in matters of religion, no one who knows the value of sound Christian morality, can do otherwise than admire the quiet domestic habits, good conduct, and well organized discipline of the Quakers, who must be admitted on all hands to be, as a body, by far the most benevolent, if not the most learned, of all the heretical divisions of the Christian world.

It appears that Locke took great pains to inform himself of the proofs to be derived from Scripture, on points connected with the leading doctrines of the Church; and that he pursued the same plan in elucidating them as Milton had done before him; that is to say, he adopted a similar plan of confronting the various texts of Scripture, and drawing conclusions founded on the balance of evidence. Thus for example, if he found two passages favouring the doctrine of the Trinity, and three supporting the Unity

of the Godhead, he would at once admit, *cæteris paribus*, the latter to be the best supported of the two. Now it is a very remarkable fact, and one which should be deeply impressed on the minds of all theologians, but particularly on those of the orthodox members of the Church, that all the principal dissenters from orthodoxy have proceeded on this very plan, of examining texts of Scripture, and yet all of them have differed from each other: a circumstance which points out, as strongly as any thing can do, to every reasonable and reflecting mind, the fallacy of private judgment in matters confessedly above human reason; and shews the necessity for that sort of authorized exposition of Scriptural truths which emanated from the approved Councils of the Church, and which it is the province of the apostolical Vicars to maintain from age to age, for the purpose of useful instruction, and for maintaining the Christian unity of the people at large.

In defiance of all that liberal writers may say about the right of private judgment in matters of religion, the orthodox will always have this strong argument to throw in the teeth of the heterodox, namely, that those who have exercised this said right

of private judgment on the most extended scale, have differed the most widely from each other; and that too in the most essential points of doctrine. I shall just take a few examples from sectarian writers of the age of Locke, or thereabouts, in order to exhibit this discrepancy of opinion in its proper light, and to compare it with the disunion of heart and of mind that it occasioned: Locke, as has been said, using the best of his judgment, became a sort of mixture of the Arian and the Quaker; he evidently disbelieved the Trinity, the Atonement (at least in the usual sense of that word), the Immaculate Conception, and the divine right of ecclesiastical polity. Milton, another expounder of Scripture after the same method, has also denied the scriptural authority for the Trinity, but has added to his creed, the novel doctrine that the keeping of a Sabbath Day or Sunday was not an institution of Christianity, nor authorized by the Testament, nor does he consider it as binding on Christians to keep one day in seven holy. He, moreover, allows of polygamy, and defends on Christian principles various other innovations of a dangerous nature. Hence we infer his private judg-

ment had a different sort of warp from that of Locke.

Newton, our great astronomer, who also wrote on religious subjects, and made abundant use of his private judgment in spiritual things, is recorded by his biographers as being a Unitarian,* and yet believing in several of the most important predictions of the prophets who foretold and typified the advent of the Messiah. Clarke, who wrote on the Attributes, and was a man of considerable judgment, appears to have been a Trinitarian, but to have dissented, nevertheless, from some other important doctrines of the orthodox Church. Lord Shaftesbury was a Protestant, but of what particular persuasion does not appear.

Lord Bacon was as far from orthodox as a man could be, but he likewise has concealed his particular belief, and whether he was a Christian or a Deist cannot now be very clearly ascertained; as he lived in times when the expression of any opinions but those received and adopted at Court was very dangerous; and he himself was a courtier and a sycophant, in spite of all his vaunted philosophy.

* See Cyclopædia, article Newton.

These were all philosophical writers who advocated the right of private judgment; and if to them we add the professed theological defenders of the same cause, we shall find as much discordancy. Calvin was a Predestinarian, a Trinitarian, and a believer in the Miraculous Conception, &c. Luther, an Armenian, who professed belief in consubstantiation; Price was an Arian, and Priestley a Socinian. I shall not swell the catalogue, as almost every sectarian writer has professed something peculiar, whereby he has been distinguished, while the orthodox members of the Mother Church, including all the early Martyrs, the Saints, and Christian Bishops, and thousands of eminently learned and pious men of every profession, and living in every age of Christianity, have been united in opinion respecting the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Trinity, the Atonement, and in short all the other leading dogmas of the Church. Such men have composed all the great Councils of Trent, of Nice, of Lateran, &c.; and have conferred on, agreed on, and expounded doctrines which have been admitted by nine tenths of the Christian world in every century since the coming of our Lord to the

present day, as the necessary groundwork of human salvation. Hence I infer that the particular opinions of Mr. Locke and other philosophical writers are of very little moment, and, when considered in relation to the contradictions of the contemporary writers alluded to above, constitute no valid argument, either in favour of Arianism or of any other doctrine whatever: while the collision of contradictory opinions, which I have glanced at herein, is calculated only to confirm the notion entertained by all churchmen, Protestant as well as Catholic, that there must be some authorized exposition of Scripture, in order to keep the members of the Christian Church connected together in harmony of sentiment, and to bind them in the bond of peace.

Among learned and pious men the Trinitarians are to the Arians and Socinians at least as three hundred to one. And though some great philosophical writers have fallen into the heretical errors of Arius, Socinus, and Beza, and more still have become Deists, while a few, it is to be feared, have gone on even to Atheism; it is nevertheless a consolation to the orthodox to reflect, that all these taken together bear no manner of proportion,

that is, speaking of men born Christians, to those who have believed in the Trinity, and all the other doctrines usually connected therewith.

Again, if we examine into the talents and virtues of the contending parties respectively, we shall find that the orthodox will bear away the palm. What, for example, are the philosophy and ethics of Locke, Clarke, Bacon, and Price, combined, when compared with the erudition and power of mind possessed by St. Austin alone? What is the learning and theology of Mosheim or of Priestley compared with that of St. Jerom, St. Epiphanius, or St. Bernard? What are the humane and benevolent exertions of Hanway, of Penn, or of Howard, laudable as they may have been, when compared with the charity of St. Ignatius of Loyola, of St. Francis Xavier, or of Fenelon?

I merely select these few facts to counteract the tendency of many writers of the lives of our English philosophers to depreciate old and long cherished, and I may say at least useful, opinions. Had such subjects not been broached before, I would never have been the first to introduce them here: but since it has become the fashion to publish men's opinions in their posthumous works, the evil arising

therefrom, ought to be counteracted, in as much as it is possible to do it, by a just statement of collateral facts, and by arguments fairly deduced from them.

The Arian opinions of Mr. Locke, imperfectly expressed as they were, have been vaunted forth as if they constituted arguments, by many persons who, although actuated by the most honest and best intentions to do good and promote truth, have in my opinion served nevertheless to lead the rising generation into error. It is on this ground alone, that I would ever have consented to invade the sacred right of every individual to say, or to write, what he pleased, in his private correspondence with his friends, without incurring the risque of having his idle thoughts, and the careless expressions of the passing moment, overhauled and criticized by the public, and handed down to posterity as records of the particular manner in which he had participated in the numerous failings and errors of judgment which are the common lot of human nature.

I shall, here close the observations which I have to offer on the religious opinions of Locke, with observing what is of more consequence, namely, that

his excellent heart and good sense in ordinary matters, amply compensate for the errors of his pen; and that in every record of his life we find good-nature, humility, and the *love* of truth, however defective the method he adopted for its attainment.*

I shall now consider his metaphysical philosophy compared with that of others.

OF METAPHYSICAL OPINIONS FROM PLATO, TO LOCKE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

To treat at large of Locke's metaphysical opinions would, in fact, be to write a long commentary on the Essay concerning Human Understanding, a task for which I am neither prepared nor disposed. What I propose, therefore, to do is, merely to give a sketch of his leading opinions, and to compare them with those of other writers on the human mind. The best mode of doing this is to give a sketch of the opinions of the metaphysical philosophers in a sort of chronological order; because it may be fairly

* See the excellent observations of the Abbé De la Mennais, "On the Foundation of Certitude," and the mode of acquiring a knowledge of the true Religion, in his "L'Indifference," &c. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris 1828.

presumed that the subsequent writers have been assisted by the already existing discoveries and opinions of the antecedent: and because it will be found by this method what sort of progress the philosophy of mind, as it is called, has made in the course of ages.

One principal thing which I think will strike every body in the course of this inquiry is, that the reflecting powers of the mind have much sooner attained their *ne plus ultra* than the observing faculties. For, while observation and discovery have gone on for ages heaping up new facts and the materials of knowledge, the science of ethicks, and metaphysical philosophy have not kept pace therewith; but have very early in history attained to the utmost limits of their power. Natural Philosophy and Natural History, in every branch, has been wonderfully improved even in our days: but what new fact have we learned, what additional truth have we attained to respecting the nature of mind, its origin, and destiny, since the beginning of the Christian æra? And I cannot help being persuaded, in spite of all the pride and boasted achievement of modern philosophy, that Aristotle knew quite as much of the human mind as Locke, Bacon,

or Des Cartes: and that in this sublime sort of knowledge, combined with its useful application to human affairs, and in its relation to futurity, St. Paul greatly outdid all of them, as I think every deep thinking man must be convinced who has attentively read his Epistles, particularly the 15th chapter of the first book of his Epistle to the Corinthians. But the short and simple language used by the Apostle, and the obvious avoiding of superfluous peroration and the ambages of an affected philosophy, have tended to cause modern metaphysicians to undervalue these sublime compositions. And I may remark that the same observations hold good with respect to the deeply metaphysical passages that are to be found here and there in the writings of many of the subsequent Saints and Doctors of the Christian Church. Indeed I am quite sure that metaphysical philosophy in general, and the knowledge of mind in particular, had very much retrograded in the time of Locke; whose excellent work seems to me to derive its utility from its tendency to clear away innumerable errors in opinion that had gained ground with the revival of letters, rather than from any thing actually new which it established.

For the doctrine that there is a final cause, an uncreated, eternal, and intelligent God the creator of all things visible to us and invisible, and that man made in his image has a mind distinct from his perishable body, and capable of existing after the body is no more, are doctrines as old as the utmost limit of history can reach, and are therefore generally allowed to have been revealed to man by the Author of all things, and to have been confirmed by and to form the basis of Christianity: neither is it easy to conceive any process of reasoning by which men should have originally come at these truths, at least as far as they relate to the future state of the soul, unless they had been revealed (it matters not *how* or in *what manner*) by God himself. Modern metaphysical philosophy certainly confirms, rather than refutes, these sublime doctrines; and the most correct process of logical reasoning will serve to strengthen our belief in them. But, as far as mere human reason goes, that is without taking into account the historical and the internal evidence of Christianity, I am convinced, after all that I have read or thought on the subject, that the proof of these or of any great truths propounded to us, lies

in the greater difficulty of believing the converse: by quickly perceiving which, the mind is carried forward directly to admit the proposition, in favour of which the balance is found to preponderate.

For all logic is based on axioms; and *what are axioms but propositions which all men consent to admit as the groundwork of their reasoning, because they instantly feel the absurdity of the converse; at which the understanding naturally revolts?*

To take an example, when the axiom is pru-pounded to us, that nothing could originate its own existence, or in other words create itself; we feel at once that, if it could, it must have acted before it was in being, which is so far a contradiction, that we instantly find it easier to believe the necessary alternative, and to admit, however incapable our limited power to grasp the idea, that something must have existed from all eternity. This is the basis of all our knowledge of final cause. And it being an axiom of universal consent, it demonstrates that the nature of the human mind is such that we shall always of necessity choose the doctrine of eternal existence rather than believe that effects can ever have been their own causes; and shall therefore be

carried on to the natural belief in a supreme and uncreated God, as the necessary origin of all the wonderful chains and mutual interchanges of causes and effects, of which the universe is made up.

I think, moreover, that it would be easy to show, to any mind accustomed to logic and to metaphysical reasoning, that the whole of the natural proof which we possess of an external and continuously existing universe, rests on the perpetual operation of that act of the judgment, by which this choice, between the proposition and converse, is regulated. I shall not at present go further into these abstruse inquiries. It will be sufficient for my purpose to have stated what I have, and to observe at the same time that all axioms rest on a similar principle, and being therefore deeply grounded in the nature of the human mind, are admitted by all men, not manifestly defective or deranged, and are called universal or general truths, from being the truth that is the *troth* or belief of all mankind collectively. I am aware that a very subtile question may arise respecting axioms, which would affect the great question of the decisive nature of universal judgment or authority,

but it is not the place to examine it here, and it will be discussed in due time.

To return to the early metaphysicians and Christian philosophers; I may observe that, so long as men did not deviate much from revealed truths, metaphysical knowledge was simple and unembarrassed by scholastic subtilties. The truths respecting the mind and its doctrines, taught by the inspired writers, saints, and apostolic vicars, were confined to what were useful and necessary to be known, and it was not till what is called the revival of letters in Europe, and the revolution in religious matters, that men, availing themselves of the free enquiry which had become the fashion of the times, began again to perplex themselves with inquiries beyond the scope of most people's minds. But enquiry having begun, it could not easily be stopped; and though, in the upshot, the truth of those things which had originally been revealed became confirmed by the last efforts of metaphysical philosophy, yet in the dark period which intervened, the most extravagant notions were entertained; and the principal merit which appears to me to attach to Locke and some of the metaphysicians who followed him, appears to be, that they

swept away a vast deal of interventional error, and prepared the way for a return of the true but simple philosophy of our Christian forefathers.

It will perhaps be asked what I mean by metaphysicks, why a particular sort of knowledge should have got this name, and why the attainment of excellence therein should always have been reckoned as a criterion of a reflecting and powerful mind? I shall therefore try, *in limine*, to account for this. Metaphysical philosophy may be said to be the grandest of all the sciences, for it not only embraces the sublimest objects of human contemplation, but is in fact the groundwork of all the operations of the understanding. Every one of the physical sciences, if pursued far enough, will be found to resolve itself into a metaphysical question; and even mathematics, logic, and physiology, have all metaphysicks for their basis. In other words, all physicks resolve themselves into that which is *beyond* physical research, and which is therefore called metaphysical. For, etymologically speaking, the word is composed of the Greek words μετα and φυσικη, and implies the carrying of our enquiries beyond, that is, deeper or more profound than the physical sciences: which are

confined to the observance of the various operations of nature, and to such knowledge of their particular laws as can be deduced from the succession and order of phenomena. A few examples will serve to illustrate my meaning: suppose for instance we propose to examine the nature of numerical calculation? the doctrine of infinite series, the impossibility of getting the square root of two, or of squaring the circle, will soon bring us to the boundary of physical enquiry! If in geometry and conic sections we consider the infinite divisibility of matter, or the possible relation and coincidence of the assymptote to the hyperbole, we shall come directly to questions that must show us the boundary of our understandings, and prove that there are both objects and relations of objects placed much beyond the reach of human comprehension, and which cannot be sounded by those imperfect instruments of knowledge which God has given us in our limited organizations.

The boundless extension of space, and the infinite duration of time, past and to come, may also be stated as the most powerful examples of subjects beyond physical enquiry, and which bring us into this inevitable dilemma, that while on the one hand we

feel that we cannot comprehend them, we feel also, on the other hand, that it is still more difficult to conceive that they have any boundary beyond which there should exist Nothing. We may carry ourselves, for example, in imagination, millions and millions of miles beyond the milky way and the region (if there be such a limit) of stars, but still there will, as far as our conceptions go, be space: neither if we should imagine a period before the creation of any material object, could we divest ourselves of the notion of time. And thus it seems that Extension and Duration are, as it were, a sort of elementary ideas of the understanding, which it is more difficult to dispossess the mind of, than it would be to conceive the non existence of any definite forms of matter which we perpetually perceive to be placed in relation thereto. Even if we could so far abstract as to conceive the possibility of there ever being a universal Nonentity, the most astonishing of all questions would then arise, namely, *How there should ever have been created Anything?* I have stated these apparently futile questions, only to bring us to the perception and acknowledgment of two leading facts; which I beg the reader always to keep in

mind during the progress of all deep metaphysical inquiry. The first is, that we can only view objects through the imperfect medium of our senses, and the organic apparatus of knowledge in the brain which is appended to them; and, consequently, can only view them in their relation to ourselves or, in other words, as they are manifested to the mind by the corresponding actions which they excite in the sensorium. The second is, that we can never conceive that any thing can create itself, or begin its own existence. From the acknowledgment of these two propositions two important conclusions may be drawn. The first, That the existence of an external universe, and of the various relations of all its parts, is an inference that the mind draws from the specifically modified configurations of our organization: The second, That there must be an infinite Final Cause that creates and maintains both external things and ourselves. The consideration then of MIND, otherwise called *Self*, or the individual capacity for sensation; of LIFE, *Organization*, or the organic and moving medium of sensation; and of MATTER, or an *external Universe* the object of sensation, together with the attributes of GOD, the

final *uncreated Cause* of all sensation, constitutes the province of metaphysical inquiry. It is therefore distinguished from mere physical science, which is limited to an investigation in detail, of the Phenomena and mutual relations of the particular Objects of sensation alone.

In the course of the following sketch of metaphysical philosophy, and of the successive opinions formed by Mr. Locke and others thereon, I request the reader to keep in mind the distinction that I have made, and not to confound the Mind itself or individual capacity for sensation, either with the external Objects themselves, or with the organic apparatus or living Sensorium, in which their images are, if I may so say, represented, in order to be made manifest to the mind. When the word *Soul* is used, it implies the continuing of the same mind, or individual capacity for sensation, eternally and in another state after death, or the solution of its relation to the organic matter of the body. Thus the mind, when set free from the perishable bondage of the flesh, is called soul. But what will be its particular state, whether it will be united to another and more perfect body, or whether its existence as a capacity for sensation

shall then require what we call a body at all, are questions beyond even the grasp of the most acute metaphysical philosophy, and are soluble only by God, who has, according to the doctrine of the Church, told us as much about it as is necessary for the preparing of our minds for happiness hereafter by particular exercises prescribed by himself. Now there is nothing against reason in the belief that having a capacity for sensation here, we should, by exerting the power God has given us in a particular way, according to the divine laws, acquire a capacity for existing in a better state hereafter; * but, as the consideration of this subject is the province of religion alone, it will be purposely omitted as a subject of further metaphysical speculation; and I shall merely observe that, independently of its being the belief of all the wisest and best men that ever existed,

* I allude, as the reader will readily perceive, to the great THEOLOGICAL VIRTUES, the Spiritual Exercises of the Christian Religion, grounded in Faith, Hope, and Charity, and which, when exercised in the highest degree, are called the EVANGELICAL COUNCILS, or the more complete modes of Perfection. See an explanation of these in the "Catholic Annual" for 1830, sold by Keating and Brown, Prolegomena, page xlix.

future life is in itself a proposition much more easy of belief than its converse; and therefore much less evidence than actually exists for the truth of Christianity would be sufficient to turn the balance of probabilities in its favour.

With these preliminary observations, which I trust will mark out what I mean by metaphysical philosophy, I shall proceed to give a short sketch of its history, particularly of that branch of it which relates to the power of the human mind; from the age of Plato and Aristotle to that of Locke and Des Cartes, and thence to the metaphysicians of our days.

I am aware that I might have begun with the Divine or Christian philosophy, as it is called, which is still older, and was known to the Patriarchs and Jews, and probably laid the foundation for all the other systems of moral philosophy, which will be found to be only its fragments, or partial doctrines, variously dispersed among collateral nations, mixed up with their passions and local prejudices, and capable of being again resolved into their parent stock or original fountain, in proportion as they are simplified and purified from the errors of judgment and

the deceptions of language with which they have got entangled.

But, the Christian philosophy boasting of a higher origin and far more genuine source than the reasonings of men, and being a direct declaration of truths respecting the human mind, in its origin, fall, recovery, and future destinies, and coming from the Creator himself, it seems advisable to reserve its consideration to the last, enough having been stated respecting it to enable the reader to understand the references I may make in the course of the ensuing history. Because, after having pointed out the various doctrines and modes of argument which belong to the successive theories, I hope to be able to show, in the sequel, that they establish nothing beyond what is included in the comprehensive system of Christianity. The reason why this fact has been so much overlooked is, because philosophers, being used to high sounding words, and an affected phraseology, the offspring of their own conceit, almost involuntarily discarded the most profound truths, when clothed in the simple garb of ordinary and unaffected language; for they as little expected to find the sublime doctrines re-

specting the nature of the soul, so long the object of their research, in such a quarter, as the learned Hebrews of old did to find the Messiah born in the manger of a stable, unaccompanied by any of the anticipated ensigns of grandeur. Thus men, employing only their own reasoning, founded imperfect systems, which flourished and decayed in succession, and which had got much more defusive in the time of Locke, and before he wrote, than they were in the time of Plato.

Several reasons may be assigned for the decline of metaphysical philosophy, during a period in which mechanical and natural philosophy went on increasing: firstly, the latter not only required less constant exertion of the superior faculties of the mind than the former, but it was at the same time more marketable and more flattering both to the enterprizes of genius, and to the sordid views of cupidity. Physicks feed vanity, and excite further emulation; because the objects of sense, and of what we may call the knowing faculties, being innumerable and scattered over the face of the globe, the delights consequent on discovery are endless, independent of the use they may be put to: while metaphy-

sicks are at all times based on a few simple and unchangeable propositions, which it requires the rare faculties of reflection, comparison, and the power of appreciating cause and effect, rightly to understand and to reason upon; and hence few aim at excellence therein, and still fewer attain to it. It is only in the flourishing conditions of society, when the natural wants of men can be easily satisfied, and time for reflection allowed, that a few highly gifted individuals make a regular study of the Philosophy of Mind; which is of little worldly profit, which cannot be appreciated by the many, and cannot therefore be perverted to purposes of vanity, and which tends to that which none but Christians and really great philosophers relish or know how to value—to humble the pride of private judgment, prove how little, after all, we know of the continuous and unperceived existence of external things, and of the ultimate destination of ourselves as sentient identical beings, and how necessary it is to mortify pride and self conceit, in order rightly to understand and appreciate what we are told on AUTHORITY respecting the most interesting functions and future destinies of our nature.

These appear to me to be the causes why the philosophy of Plato and his followers fell into decay, while other sciences rose and flourished. And the consideration of these changes also shows us why deep metaphysical inquiries remained for ages almost confined to some of the learned fathers of the Church; because they alone knew the real value of such knowledge, when conducted with the spirit of humility, and when made subservient to promote the great cause of human happiness; since they tended to show the distinct nature of cause and effect, and to distinguish mind, or the individual capacity for sensation, from matter, or the objects of sensation, while there was nothing contradictory to the hypothesis, that the mind could go on existing and perceiving yet other objects of sensation after the living principle or medium of sensation should be destroyed by death: and as this hypothesis was more probable, that is, more agreeable to the common sense of mankind than its converse, so philosophy in this respect seemed to confirm the great truths of Christianity, which were derived from a higher source. Subsequent pretenders to philosophy, as some of the materialists and sceptics of modern

times, have pretended the reverse, and have endeavoured to persuade themselves and others, that the philosophy of mind had a contrary tendency; but their efforts have completely failed, and their reasoning is shown to have no solid basis; and though they flourished for a time, during the twilight of resurgent science, and the revival of letters, yet they were soon overthrown, and Christianity at length got additional support from the very arguments before used to gainsay it, and that, too, as soon as ever the most universally admitted axioms in philosophy became logically reasoned on.* But it is time to close these preliminary observations, and to proceed to the historical sketch of opinions.

I shall glance over the opinions of Pythagoras, who maintained the doctrine of the transmigration

* The reader may refer, for proofs of what I have advanced, to the following works:

1. "Essay on Cause and Effect," 8vo. London. By the Rt. Hon. Lady Mary Shepherd.

2. "Essays on the Perception of an External Universe," 12mo. London. By the same.

3. "Essai sur l'Indifference en Matiere de Religion," in 4 volumes, 8vo. (vol. ii.) Paris. By the Abbé De La Mennais.

4. "Catholic Annual for 1830," Prolegomena.

of souls, as well as the philosophy of Socrates, because both are very indefinite, particularly the former, while the dogmas held by the latter will be found to coincide with those of Plato, the first great founder of a rational philosophy of mind, who gathered the fragments of various other doctrines, digested them in his own mind, and benefiting by his travels among the priests and learned men of Egypt who had received and retained the traditionary knowledge of the Hebrews from the time of the Jewish captivity, at length gave the world the system of ethics, after him called Platonism, which is the first that I shall try to describe.

Plato, the founder of this philosophy, was born, according to the best authorities, in the Isle of Ægina, when it was subject to Athens, in the third year of the 87th Olympiad, or B. C. 430. He was the son of Aristo, an Athenian, and was related both to Codrus and Solon. Dionysius taught him letters: he studied music, poetry, and painting, at Athens, and learned philosophy first from Socrates, and then from the learned whom he met with in his Ægyptian travels: thus was he educated in those branches

of knowledge in which he afterwards so much excelled. He passed his life in celibacy and meditation, and died at the age of eighty years.

It will be unnecessary here to give the minutiæ of the various branches of philosophy taught by Plato, of which he made general distinction into, 1. the Theological; 2. the Physical, and 3. the Mathematical. But the theological or metaphysical is what concerns us in this inquiry, and to that I shall confine my observations.

The grand foundation of the theology of Plato is the received axiom, that *De nihilo nihil fit*,—that nothing can come from nothing; which is nothing more than saying, as we say in the language of modern metaphysics, that phenomena cannot be self generated, or that effects cannot be their own causes; and hence a final cause must have from all eternity existed. From this axiom Plato lays it down as certain, that God always existed; but he differs in this from other philosophers who have reasoned from the same basis, in declaring it to be equally certain that matter under some form has also been existent from all eternity. Some writers, anxious

to deduce the whole of Plato's philosophy from Revelation, have denied this; but it is too clearly laid down in his Τιμαιος to be doubted. Others, on the other hand, have treated the notion as vague and inconclusive, that Plato derived any of his theology from Moses; but after much research this appears to me to be equally untrue. Plato travelled in Ægypt, and there learned the wisdom of ancient traditions; and the learned father Guerrin de Rocher has clearly proved, in his admirable work on the Fabulous Histories of Antiquity, that the Egyptians and Greeks derived all their philosophy from the Israelites, and that the whole of the histories of Herodotus is taken from the history of the Jewish tribes. This notion is confirmed and ably defended in a small work, entitled, "Herodote historien du people Hebrew sans le Savoir," 12mo, Liege, 1790. The great coincidence of certain dogmas of the Platonic philosophy with those of the ancient Jews and of Christianity, affords also another strong presumptive proof of the correctness of the above opinion.

It is remarkable, observes St. Augustine, that in many points Platonism is almost the same as Chris-

tianity. The learned father also goes on to remark, that the Platonists of his time were most of them easily converted to the Faith.

But, as I have before observed, when the true religion got scattered abroad among the Gentiles, it was always more or less misunderstood and perverted by the mixture of human views and passions, and the errors of human judgment, and this is very conspicuous in some of the dogmas respecting the Deity and the origin world broached by Plato, and which I must just notice before I quit the subject, leaving the reader in the meanwhile to contemplate this striking fact, that the Platonic school, and consequently all the philosophers, hereafter to be described, who arose out of it, got their first notions of the immaterial soul, and of an eternal and uncreated God, from the same source, believed by all Christians to be divine, from whence all the doctrines of Judaism and of Christianity were derived. This, in the course of this inquiry, will be shown to be the case with all other doctrines by whatever philosophers they may have been held, which relate to these two remarkable and important truths.

Plato maintained that there were three universal or elementary principles, independently of matter called Σωμα or body, comprehending all the substance of the universe, which he seems to regard as having had a beginning: though some of the fathers who have written on Platonism, have represented him as believing in the coeternal existence of matter and spirit.

Of the three elements to which I alluded, which composed the Godhead, the first he regarded as the Supreme Being existing from all eternity, and called him Το Ἑν, the Ens, otherwise called Το Αγαθον, or the Good, a word corresponding to *God*. Subordinate to whom, he supposes an essential creative and intelligent being called Νους, or mind, also styled the Demiourgos, the Creator of the world, who proceeded by Divine emanation from the former, as from the universal parent. Between these two, and subordinate to both, was the Ψυχη, or Principle of Life, the maintaining cause of all motion, a sort of soul of the world, and, as it were, the necessary living-principle of organized matter which was made by the Demiourgos or great Artificer; and being itself an effect of the Supreme Being, may be said to

have proceeded from them both. And thus it has come to pass that Plato has been called a Trinitarian. But I cannot help suspecting, from the fact in Plato's life and education before alluded to, that this was not an original thought of his, but one borrowed from some very ancient tradition respecting the Holy Trinity, to which the particular clue is now lost. Nor can we assign to the Indian Trinity, about which so much has been written, any better origin. It is only a more widely extended branch of the same original revelation. We know that the Old Testament is full of prototypical emblems of the Trinity, of Christ, and of the scheme of human redemption. I have already shown how the Egyptians derived their theology from the Jews.*

Now, whether or no Plato regarded the material universe as coexisting for ever with God, this is certain, that he regarded the chaotic matter itself, formed or unformed, as an eternal and necessary ex-

* Heeren's great work on the Commerce, Arts, and Chronology of antient nations being now translated, will be read with great avidity by the English reader, but I recommend that it be followed by a more attentive perusal of Guerrin de Rocher's *Tems Fabuleux*.

istence; he calls it in some places Necessity, and supposes, that being itself part of the Godhead, or of the Great ALL, it opposes obstacles to the absolute or unlimited omnipotence of the Ἓν, or Supreme Being. So that there should be things, in fact, absolutely impossible; as for instance, *the causing things which have been never to have been*, or in other words, of annihilating past existence. For, according to Plato, it were impossible to make that never to have taken place, as Horace expresses it, *quod fugiens semel hora vertit*. All this, however, is a strange quibble, and only shows the poverty of unassisted human reason at all times; it further proves the defective state of logic in those times: for the assertion that Omnipotence is limited, in reality amounts to no more, than that God can do all things except change his own nature; which would be the same sort of thing as creating himself anew, which we have shown to be a contradiction to the whole of our doctrine of Cause and Effect.

The above, then, is Platonism, at least as far as I recollect it; for I read it many years ago in Greek, at Cambridge.

Before I shall proceed to speak of the im-

proved philosophy of Aristotle, I shall request the reader to bear in mind, that from the obstacles which the nature of matter opposes to the unlimited exercise of allpowerful omnibenificence, is derived, according to Plato, the apparent imperfection, which we observe to be mixed up with all the works of the creation; in other words, it is what he calls the Origin of Evil.

But we do not find in Platonism any personified Devil, or evil spirits, although, on the other side the scale, he admit of subordinate good spirits or Δαιμονες of a higher order than men; and which correspond to our notions of angels and sanctified persons, the companions of Almighty God in heaven.

I have not room to notice here the strange commentaries on the Platonic philosophy by Jamblicus, Porphery, Proclus, Plutarch, Justin Martyr, Origen, and other more recent writers.

Whether Plato did or did not regard the Deity as creating the world after an archetype externally existing in his own mind, it is vain and useless to inquire; since such a question is utterly beyond the limits even of rational conjecture.

There is, however, one thing asserted by our

philosopher worth noticing from its justness, from its tendency to make us humble, and diffident in our notions respecting the universe and its changing forms; and from its coincidence with the Christian philosophy of St. Paul. Plato likens the state of the mind, in regard to the external world, to a person shut up in an obscure cave, into which only certain inlets to light were allowed, and who nevertheless judged of ALL *that is without*, from the *shadow of a* FEW THINGS *which were let in!*

This observation is very good; it corresponds with the best part of Kant's philosophy, and is confirmed by the last researches of modern physiology, which proves to the phrenologist that all we know of external objects is derived from the corresponding images that they cast, as it were, on our sensorium, through the medium of the external organs of sense, the eyes, the ears, the touch, and so on; which images, when shewn on the sensorium or cerebral organs, are viewed by the mind itself, in all their various relations, and are often judged of with a degree of philosophic pride and arrogance that ill accords with the acknowledged imperfection of the instruments of their transmission. As if we really knew

the whole of the external in itself, instead of merely viewing only a few of its passing shadows as they were reflected, in what the Apostle justly calls a darkened glass. Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate, tunc autem facie ad facem; nunc cognosco ex parte; tunc autem cognoscam, sicut et cognitus sum; nunc autem manet, Fides, Spes, Charitas, tria hæc, major autem horum est Charitas.*

The coincidence between Platonism and Christianity is, as St. Austin observed, very striking; but this is not all that is remarkable; it is further to be observed that the latter, by means of its connection with an authorized apostolical ministry and church, or an ecclesiastical polity from whose centre all its defenders and teachers were, as one may say, radii, moving round a centre of unity, has been maintained pure and uncorrupted for ages; but the former, though taken up by various of Plato's followers, was soon mistaken, changed, or transmogrified into a hundred whimsical systems, according to the respective fancies of the individuals, as I shall hereafter show, when speaking of the later disci-

* Corinth. ch. xv.

ples of this school of philosophy. This variety of opinion and confusion of thought, resembled the Babel of contending doctrines which began to prevail at the time of the Reformation, when every one used his individual private judgment in matters often above reason; and when authority, or the consensus of council, that great criterion of truth, was too much laid aside, or too wilfully neglected. I cannot help digressing a little here, in order to say something of the nature and construction of councils, as affording a foundation of certitude in matters requiring the most extensive knowledge and judgment.

If we reflect on the several imperfections which belong more or less to every individual mind, we shall not expect to find any one person's mind, any more than we should any one's body, so perfect in all its functions and powers as to preclude the possibility of partial defects of judgment; one man, for instance, may judge perfectly of mathematical propositions, another of music, a third of historical facts, and a fourth of metaphysical questions; but no *one* of all these could singly be supposed a competent judge of all the branches of knowledge al-

luded to. The settling of the policy of the Christian Church, and the examination of its doctrines, became a work that involved numerous questions requiring the exercise of various sorts of judgment and of knowledge, and consequently it required numerous persons of different kinds of mind to examine it. Now the Assembly of Council was an arrangement whereby the partial defects of one man's judgment should be supplied by the corresponding perfections of another; and, thus when any question was proposed for discussion to a Council of many minds, it was consistent with the doctrine of chances to expect that among them would be found various persons capable severally of discussing the divers questions which the said proposition involved; and general truth was the result. And if we reflect on the number and succession of such Councils of the ablest, and most disinterested, and pious men who ever lived, by which the orthodox Christian philosophy, if I may so call it, has been tried and approved; it ought to make us view with very suspicious eyes all deviations from that doctrine; neither ought the opinions of Plato, Locke, or any other individual to weigh much against it.

I mention this, merely because I have often heard Mr. Locke's heterodox opinions, both in matters of moral philosophy and of religion, quoted by superficial persons in opposition to older and better established dogmas. This is the abuse, and not the use of authority. Any talented individual, without much vanity, might say, "Why is not my opinion on speculative questions as good as Locke's or Milton's, or Des Cartes, or fifty more such, considering that they all differed from each other?" But it would be arrogance in any man to place his private judgment in competition to that of a body of learned men, all agreeing together. Such, for example, as the great Councils of Trent, of Nice, or of Lateran!

To return from this digression, to Platonism, I say that though to a superficial mind, who confounds religion with its externals, there may seem to be no great similitude between Christianity and the Platonic Philosophy; yet to a contemplative mind, who regards God, as some of our learned authors have expressed it, in the light of a boundless ocean of creative intelligence, from whence all creatures come as from their source, and to whom they all return; who considers personal organization as a con-

trivance for dividing off minds from the great parent mind, and giving to each a separate individual existence, and placing them in a certain relation to the external world, and to other beings similar to themselves, during a limited term of life, wherein they are to be disciplined and prepared for a future state of existence; to a person, I say, who thus regards God and created beings, there will appear such a striking analogy between the doctrines of Plato and those of CHRIST, that it would be next to impossible not to suppose that there must be some sort of connection between them. And this notion is rendered further probable by what I have alluded to above, respecting the countries into which Plato travelled. But it is time to consider his followers, and to maintain the position which I have advanced, that the philosophy of mind went on degenerating till the time of Locke.

Aristotle was born at Stagira, in Thrace, in B. C. 384, and was left by his parents with a good fortune. He studied philosophy at Athens from the age of seventeen, and Plato observed of him that his genius rather wanted curbing than exciting. His passion, however, for philosophy having no

other spur than worldly ambition, did not prevent him from a foppishness of dress for which he was often ridiculed. He became the preceptor of Alexander the Great,* and after a long life of study, of experiment, and of great vicissitude, died in retirement at Chalcis in Eubœa, in the sixtythird year of his age.

Aristotle's works are very voluminous; he wrote a history of animals, a history of meteorology, on logic, on physics, and on metaphysics; it is with the latter particularly, in as much as they relate to the philosophy of the human mind, that our inquiries here are directed; for, as I have before observed, the term metaphysics was first applied to such of his writings that went beyond physics, by certain of his survivors in the peripatetic school of philosophy, which school was founded by him at Athens, and was held in the Lyceum, the regular academic chair being at that time occupied by Xenocrates the successor of Speusippus.

Here it was that Aristotle, sauntering about while he gave his lectures, the name of Peripatetic was

* Justin. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 16, and Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 16.

given to his scholars in consequence; a name which they ever after retained. To this audience he delivered both his Esoteric and his Exoteric Philosophy, but to the latter the public at large were also admitted.

The Aristotelian philosophy of mind differs from the Platonic in this, that it is less simple and concise, though better expressed, from the habit of logical argument that Aristotle used; but, like that of Plato, it is based on axioms, or primary truths, which all men are forced, from the nature of the human mind, to admit rather than their converse. He calls his science Ontology, or the doctrine concerning Being, and the first great axiom is, That the same thing cannot *be* and *not be* in the same subject, and in the same respect, at the same time. Secondly, Being or Ens exists either in itself or by accident, that is by falling out.* Now I can put no other construction on this strange expression than this, that Being is either *Final Cause*, or is variously recognized in the *secondary chains of causes and effects*, which constitute the accidents, or *fallings out*, of all things in the

* Accident is from *accidere*, to fall out.

course of the whole chequered scenery of the moving universe. Neither can I find in the doctrine of Aristotle on this subject anything but what has been repeated again and again by Locke and by subsequent philosophers, and which is as clearly developed perhaps in Lady Mary Shepherd's Essay on *Cause and Effect*, as in any treatise that has come to my knowledge. Aristotle, however, goes on to describe active and passive power, the one being the cause of motion, and the other the resistance made by matter; but if we closely reflect on these two things, we shall perceive that they are reducible to the same principles. Active power, or the motive principle of change, in whatsoever it may reside, is what we mean by Cause, and the Effects produced are the instantaneous products of the interferences of matter with its operation. The particular product or effect is found to possess further latent powers of causation, and may operate again on other forms of matter, which, interfering or resisting, produce yet other effects, and so on through the whole world. Now, the sum total or aggregate of all phenomena is called *Nature*, from the corrupted gerund of *nascor;* and it implies a perpetual power im-

parted to effects to become in their turn causes, subjected to a general law emanating originally from the Final Cause. The Nature of Things is therefore a term comprehending not only our knowledge of the things themselves, but our knowledge of their past and future relations also, which we learn by examining them as they appear as a chain of causes and effects.

Again, Aristotle conceived Being to be twofold, *notional* or in the mind, and *real*, that is, external. This is indeed true in one sense, and it is nothing more than what modern physiologists have expressed by saying, that we do not see things as they exist without, but merely as they act on our sensorium; and it is what is better expressed, as I before observed, when, alluding to the Platonic doctrine on which it is founded, by St. Paul, who regarded the perception of objects by us in this our perilous bondage of flesh as imperfect: so that, not comprehending the whole nature of things as they are viewed by the Creator, we are apt to regard the world's waning shadows cast on the speculum of our minds as an enigma; all, however, which to us now appears either contradictory or imperfect, may by and bye in another state appear to us perfect as it now does to God,

who can behold the whole of his works moving in the full harmony which pervades them in all their endless relations. It will be subsequently shown that philosophers in later times have been found, who, trusting too much to their own judgment, and coming to hasty conclusions from false axioms, have actually denied or doubted the existence of external and continuously existing bodies, as Berkeley, Des Cartes, and others; or have misunderstood the proofs of their existence, as Fichte and his school; that Locke, Stewart, Reid, and others, misunderstood the way to refute them; and lastly, that there is a way of proving an "External Universe," by the most logical arguments based on universally admitted axioms, whereby we can shew that external things not only continue to exist when no longer perceived by the mind, but that they exist in all their apparent relations to each other; that without this proof there could be no such thing as available knowledge, but that with it, we only show that what the common sense of all mankind, when unperverted by fools and sceptics, has always assented to; and what all religion has enjoined, is logically proved and confirmed by the last efforts of metaphysical philosophy.

Aristotle's notions of God were more perplexed, and apparently less clear, than those of Plato: he conceives the motion of the heavenly bodies to be co-eternal with the First Mover, and to comprehend the causes of all other motions; so that it has been actually disputed whether he ought to rank among Theists or Atheists. But as he speaks of the Final Cause as being distinct from the worlds that He guides, we ought to regard him as a believer in God: at the same time that his conceptions of the Divinity are far less sublime than Plato's, from whose philosophy, as I before observed, Aristotle may therefore be regarded as the first instance of that degeneracy which run through all the "philosophers" down to the time of Locke.

In the practical application of knowledge to the culture and improvement of young minds, however, Aristotle exceeded his master. He wrote on the Conduct of the Understanding, as well as Locke, and with much effect. One thing that he recommends is, as I believe from my own researches in physiology, so important that I cannot omit to mention it here:—that young geniuses should never be too much forced; that the strength and particular

bias of the mind, in spite of all the powerful effect produced by variety of native genius and of organs, is mainly owing to the impressions received in childhood and early life; and that between the age of puberty and the two or three following years the mental energies should not be much called forth; but athletic exercise, good air, early rising, and temperance and discretion in the quality of food, should be mainly resorted to, not only to strengthen the bodily fabric, but to give the mind, or perhaps, more properly speaking, the organs of its manifestation, such a healthy tone as shall enable it to act with vigour to an advanced period of life, and only disappear with the gradual decay of the whole body in an easy and natural death.*

The necessary limits of this Preface will oblige me to pass over, or at least to notice very slightly, the opinions of Xenocrates, Zeno, and other philosophers of the Academy and of the Peripatetic school;

* Mr. Abernethy, as I recollect, dwelt on this truth, with great force in his Lectures; and I have endeavoured to illustrate it in my little Treatise on "Medicina Simplex, or Handbook of Domestic Physic and Surgery," sold by Keating and Brown.

for they taught, generally speaking, only modifications of Platonism, and, falling short of the excellence of their original, are not worthy of much notice. A close attention, however, which I have paid to the varieties of genius and of opinion which these writers have exhibited, compared with those of other philosophers in far distant countries, both ancient and modern, has only served to convince me of the truth of the old proverb, that " there is nothing new under the sun," at least when this adage is applied to speculative opinion; for we find the same varieties of doctrine, the same views of God and the soul, and the same cavils, objections, and heresies, sported over again and again, as one generation has succeeded another. The same observation will apply to nearly all subjects of speculative knowledge, which involve powerful hopes and fears: the same tragedies have been exhibited, and the same farces have been acted; the same serious thoughts given forth, and pretensions to authority vaunted; the same sort of religious poems written either as canticles, hymns, or carols, and the same satires directed against them; the same doubts engendered; the same mutual accusations and conflicts preferred by

parties; and the same ignorance ultimately confessed on the part of those who are humble, candid, and intellectual, in life's great amphitheatre of passing and delusive spectres, over and over in every age and in every country, from the earliest dawn of history to the present hour! Plato loved solitary contemplation, like the anchorites; Socrates would fain die for his opinions, like the martyrs; Epicurus was a fair prototype of modern sensuality. Every country has had its Momus and its Diogenes; every age its Horace and its Juvenal, its Demosthenes and its Cicero. Virgil was the Homer of the Romans, who in Italy sprung up in Tasso, and in England in Milton. The tragedians of Greece, Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, have their representatives in modern Europe, for genius is ever varying, though never lost; and sentiments which were depicted on the stage at Athens, appeared again in our great dramatic poet Shakspeare. The same remark applies with equal force to moral philosophy and religion, and to their opponents and satyrists. The manner in which Aristophanes directed the shafts of ridicule against the theorists of his age, is brought again to

mind by the satirical effusions of Voltaire, and the unholy witticisms of the modern sceptical poets.

Seeing then, that all varieties of opinion recur on the most ordinary as well as the profoundest subjects; we might very naturally look for the greatest variety in matters of speculative philosophy and religion; not only because of the intense impulse which they must give to our hopes, fears, and expectations; but because, being subjects over which the light of truth has been partially shed, they reflect its rays with a variety corresponding to that of all the individual diversities of the human mind. Just as the beams of the sun, cast on an immense number of prisms and moving mirrors, would be for ever reflecting or transmitting all the infinite shades and combinations of colour, which would be successively exhibited over and over again like the returning combinations of a kaleidescope, so long as the original light, and the material of the reflecting mirrors, should both remain essentially the same.

In religion we shall find this observation to apply in its fullest force: every variety of thought on the subject, wherever individual judgment is left free, is

exercised again and again in almost every age and clime. But we must emerge from the seclusions of a life at home, and range abroad among nations; we must leave the light literature of our own day, and wade through the stores of antiquity, in order to be convinced of this truth. We shall then find the opinions, the rites, the mysteries, and the moral virtues of our own quarter of the globe existing, however modified by circumstances, in the remotest Oriental regions. The hymns of the Christian poets are to be found in their peculiar spirit in the Psalms of David; but we must not stop here; penetrate the refulgent countries of the Medes and the Persians, and you will find the same or similar ideas and sentiments of devotion dressed up in all the alluring and sensual imagery of Asiatic enthusiasm, in the poetry of Hafiz, in the songs of Jayadeva, in the rhapsodies of Mesnevy, and in the sacred mysteries of Bhagavat!

The same observation applies also to subjects of speculative philosophy and metaphysicks, and it is for this reason that I pass over so lightly the variations of opinion on the nature of God, the universe, and the human mind, exhibited by the Stoics, the Sophists, and other subsequent philosophers: for

we shall have occasion to find most of their opinions embraced by one or other of the modern writers. Even the doctrine of Pythagoras respecting the transmigration of souls still exists among some casts of the Hindoo and the Gentoo Indians; nor are there wanting enlightened persons here and there in polished Europe who have embraced the same opinion.

So great is the disposition to differ among mankind, that if we only set any great number of men thinking on speculative subjects, who have not a given and imperative rule to go by, they will all think differently. Take only an example in modern heresy: the moment the clarion of discord was sounded at the Reformation, and the mind left free, or comparatively so, to speculate on truths which had heretofore been accepted according to one particular rule of faith, almost every man began to differ from his neighbour: and in a few years modern schismatics greatly outdid the Academicks of old in the number and versatility of their dissentions. The Christian Church had for nearly fifteen centuries kept opinions confined to certain rules; but in less than fifty years after the bonds of unity were

burst asunder, and the caprices of private judgment let loose on the faith of our forefathers, every grade from scepticism to credulity was occupied—the Catholic alone maintained the ancient faith pure, and defying the wavering dictates of human reason, adhered to doctrines that had been confirmed by the great Councils of his learned and pious ancestors. The Protestant soon derided the mysteries and ceremonies of the Catholic, the Independent condemned the doctrine and policy of the Protestant Episcopalian, the Calvinist growled at the consubstantiation of the Lutheran, the Arian despised the credulity of the Trinitarian, the Socinian smiled at the fastidious distinctions of the Arian, the Deist derided the Socinian, and the Atheist laughed at them all!

By degrees each sect went on subdividing, till every conceivable variety of error and of schism was made manifest, in the forms of Baptists, Antinomians, Swedenburgians, Quakers, Methodists, and Jumpers. Meanwhile crime, the constant result of the dissolution of harmony among men, began to increase to a frightful degree, while insanity, so apt to spring from the wild sallies of a gloomy and ill directed imagination, began to fill the mad-

houses of Europe with crazy enthusiasts. Now all these heresies were only modified repetitions of what the Church had before had to combat in the heresies of the Arians, Albigenses, Monotholites, Jansenists, and other schismatics of former ages. Neither are other climes wanting in corresponding variation of *culte* and its subdivisions.

At the same time that professed Christians were reviving the heresies of the middle ages of the Church, the Philosophers, participating in the habit of free inquiry which was become the fashion, revived all the theories and whimsical hypotheses of the Grecian and Roman schools, though modified by modern discoveries. Hobbes revived the materialism of Lucretius; Helvetius asserted that the whole mind was made by education; others contended for separate instincts, and so on: all, however, were much degenerated from the Alcyon days of Grecian philosophy; and even Bacon himself, who wrote so able an analysis of the particular powers, defects, and idols of the human mind, seems to me to have known but little about the first principles of the philosophy of mind itself.

It was in this state of things, that Mr. Locke's

Essay concerning Human Understanding came out, and by degrees superseded all the other systems of philosophy: and though it were at first opposed by those who were bigoted to past errors, it soon gained ground, and before thirty years had elapsed was become the only book of the kind, with the exception of Aristotle, that was much used in our universities. Locke, however, only laid the foundation of a better system of philosophy, of a kind, than had prevailed for centuries before him; he by no means completed it: his opinions were in certain particulars very erroneous; but they led men to think more closely than heretofore, and though they gave rise to many new and imperfect theories, yet the collision of all these together produced a good effect, by exposing each other's imperfections; till at length the wonderful engine of logic began to be better understood, and sound logical arguments being at length built upon the basis of the most obvious axioms, a close habit of thinking and reasoning was engendered, which led to the last achievement of metaphysical philosophy. But, after all, the result has only been a confirmation of the profound ignorance which we are all in respecting the

origin of things and the nature of mind, and a proof of the conformity or agreement of the little which we have discovered, with what we are told by the inspired writers, and the necessity, which all must confess, to admit certain truths, and those the most important, as matters of faith; without which all would still be doubt, and perplexity, and discomfiture. Some short account of the peculiar doctrines of Locke and of the different philosophers who followed him, may be expected by the reader after what I have said; which I shall therefore endeavour to give.

One of the fundamental doctrines of Locke's Essay is, that there are no innate Ideas or Principles, but that we derive all from experience. This therefore shall be the first thing which I proceed to discuss. He says, *there are no innate principles in the Mind.* Now I should be disposed here to differ with him in the very onset; reserving only this subterfuge, that I do not quite understand how much of our nature be included under the term Mind. Regarding the mind as the individualized capacity for sensation itself, there can be no innate notions *in it*, but if we include the Sensorium or organic apparatus of sensation, it seems to me that there are innate

Principles. That is to say, the organization of every individual has a determinate nature; and Ideas which are modes of its action, however they may correspond to external things, depend for their manifestation as well on the properties of the organ as they do on the impressions made thereon by exterior objects, through the medium of the external senses. In other words, the realities or objects perceived are Effects produced, of which external and continuously existing objects are the exciting Causes; but the conditions of their being made manifest to the mind are in the organization, which is innate, or in other words born with us. Mr. Locke has either misunderstood this, or has not expressed himself clearly on the subject. In short, throughout the whole Essay similar oversights or blunders are observable, owing to want of a systematic philosophical language.

Mr. Locke next proceeds to say, that the origin of all ideas is from experience; and consequently that they cannot depend on any innate principle. It is thus far true, that ideas are derived from experience, that the impressions received from the external objects are what first excite their correspond-

ing images or ideas in the sensorium; but new combinations of them are formed, by what is called the power of the imagination, and this power is not only innate in every body, but is very various in its kind and degree in different individuals. For example, if ideas of colour and of form had not been at first received from the coloured shapes of external things, we could perhaps never have imagined them; but, having once received these ideas, we have power to recombine them in modes that they never assume in nature. We can in fancy see a red cow with a black horse's head on her shoulders; but we must first have seen an animal and a colour, or we could not have so combined the elements as to form the monster whom I have described. I ought here, however, to agree with my readers, on the terms which I use for mental operations, in order that, in describing the different systems of Philosophy, all of which employ terms very differently, I may have some established standard of reference. Mr. Locke speaks of ideas of Perception, ideas of Sensation, of Reflection, and so on: which terms he uses in a manner calculated rather to mislead than to direct his readers in the acquisition of clear notions of mental

Philosophy; I shall therefore observe here, that in describing the operations of Mind, I shall use the word *Sensation* as the generic term including many varieties: for in fact all our ideas, images, perceptions of objects, sensations of pain and of pleasure, &c. are all of them sensations, though of different sorts. And I find it impossible to proceed in describing the systems of mental Philosophy till I have defined some of these. Sensation, then, is first divided into two great and important classes, namely, *Observative Sensation*, or what has been called the perception of external objects; and *Conceptive Sensation*, which includes under its generic term the several varieties which we call Recollection, Imagination, and so on. It constitutes the great storehouse of memory, as well as the laboratory of the creative fancy, and confers on man the powers of forming endless new combinations of ideas. It is probably the high degree in which man possesses this power that gives him the marked superiority over other animals; which are, as Dr. Gall used to say, in all their gradations, nothing but fragments of the human species, more and more perfect in proportion as they ascend in the scale, from the polypus and

star-fish to the perfections of the higher orders of warm blooded animals, which approximate to man.

Observative Sensations have all causes external to the Sensorium, or in other words have objects in the external world which they represent, as when we *observe* or look at a horse, a ball, or a prospect. But Conceptive Sensations do not imply the presence of external objects; for, firstly, we can *conceive* or think of a horse, a ball, or a prospect in our chamber, when those objects are removed. When these conceptive sensations occur during sleep, when the observative sensations do not intrude and force into notice their more vivid and consistent imagery, the conceptive sensations amount to what is called dreaming, in which state the mind mistakes them for the observative, or, in other words, believes them to be external objects.* It sometimes happens, from a high or morbid state of sensibility, that the con-

* The word *real* is vulgarly used to distinguish images of observative sensation from those of the conceptive; it is defective in its power of definition, for both are *real,* this word coming from *reor,* I think. Whereas the difference does not lie in our thinking, but in the circumstance that in the case of "*real*" the object has an external and continuous cause, which goes on existing when no longer a matter of sensation.

ceptive sensations take place while we are awake with all the vividity of the observative, and even mix with them; and hence it happens that people see phantoms, or spectral images as they are called, roving about the room among the furniture, and intermingling with real persons who may occupy the apartments; of which a frightful instance is recorded by Mr. Nicolai of Berlin, as having happened to himself. He saw for several days, and with perfect composure, after the first alarm was over, the forms of numerous persons and animals moving about in his study before him like people in a market, and it was only by trying to touch them that he discovered their illusive nature; before they disappeared, they lost their natural colours, and became white, and vanished by appearing as fragments smaller and smaller till they were lost. This was only an instance of intensified conceptive sensations.* Two important considerations belong to this class of sensations: one is that of insanity; for if, when such images of conceptive sensation appear, the patient should lose,

* I have copied this and several other authentic accounts of such spectral illusions into my Book on the Plague and other Epidemic Diseases, 8vo. Keating and Brown, London, 1829.

while awake, the power of distinguishing them from observative sensations, or " real objects," as all men do in dreams, then, I believe, he would be, to all intents, mad. The second consideration I alluded to is that of Revelations; for it is conceivable that God may immediately act on the sensorium in such a manner as to upraise and present to the mind prophetic visions, that is, conceptive sensations or images which have an available import as messengers of good or evil tidings of the future, of which the religious history of every country presents abundance of examples; neither is the use and divine import of any vision or angelical communication at all affected or rendered the less available by the particular *manner* which the Deity may choose as the mode of communicating his will.

Another thing I wish to observe before I go on to consider systems of philosophy is, that though by means of our five senses and the observative sensations which they occasion, we become acquainted with the existence and relations of objects in the external world, yet the images themselves are all located within us: the seat of them all is in the sensorium or organization: and thus, as far as the place

of the object immediately perceived is concerned, the horses, houses, dogs, and all the scenery of the world, are precisely, for any thing we can discover to the contrary, in the same place as their recollected images, so that when, either in sleep or in a state of vigilance, the latter become intensified, they are easily mistaken for the former. But, though all perceived images are within the body, they are nevertheless external to the Mind or sensient Capacity itself. This circumstance explains a curious and otherwise unaccountable property of some dreams, as observed by Baxter, in his Book on the Soul, namely, that we feel surprise at what comes across us in dreams, "which we would not do," says he, "if the mind manufactured its own imagery." He infers from hence that Dreams are presented to us by Spirits or some external agents. Now the fact seems to be, that the organized Sensorium or seat, wherever it may be in the brain, of ideas, does by its own vital activity, or from some impressions received by sympathy from other organs, reproduce and combine those sensations of the sensible qualities of objects which, having been originally *observative,* or caused by external objects, and which having been retained in

the memory, are capable of being revived as *conceptive* sensations.

Under the class of Observative Sensations I should also enumerate pain or pleasurable sensation, which, though they cannot be called images, have nevertheless external causes, and are in the sense of touch, which is a property of all the organs, and is to them all in general what those modes of sensation called vision, hearing, tasting, and smelling, are to certain organs in particular. As we can remember pain and pleasure, as well as objects of sight and touch and smell, so they may also become in their turn conceptive as well as observative sensations.

Whether that state of consciousness of existence, which in the German philosophy is called self feeling is both observative and conceptive, or whether it be not something between both, I am not certain: it is a feeling difficult to define, and may consist in some general sensation of the vital motions of the body during life; which may vary from being painful to being pleasurable. I can only bring it to the reader's mind by supposing a case, in which, all the senses being destroyed or dead, the living organs would still go on with vital action, and furnish to the mind the simple

consciousness of existence. Mr. Clissold, in his elegant little pamphlet on the Mind, has drawn a different and more pleasing illustration of this general feeling, from the case of a curious and happy child, who exclaimed, *What a funny thing it is to be alive!*

With these premises I shall go on to speak of Mr. Locke and the Philosophers who followed him, because having now made the definitions laid down above, I have cleared the way to elucidate the obscure expressions to be found in most books on metaphysics. Mr. Locke proceeds to speak of ideas of reflection, making a sort of false distinction between them and sensations. Now reflecting is the power of the mind to compare ideas whether of observative or of conceptive sensation, to judge of the relations of Cause and Effect, and to arrive thence at certain available conclusions. It is a power of mind dependent like every other for its manifestation on organs, and it includes also sensation. For though volition be exerted in this exercise, yet comparisons are sensations of differences or similitudes, and in like manner the knowledge of Cause and Effect is a conceptive sensation, or intuitive perception of the power of one thing, by interfering with another,

to produce a third; and hence we arrive by inference at another sensation, that of a Final Power, or Original Cause of all things. I only give these examples in order to correct some mistakes which have arisen from Mr. Locke's indefinite manner of describing sensations, and the arbitrary distinctions which have been made, which do not appear to me to correspond with Nature.

Mr. Locke next goes on to show that the mind, or, as he calls it, the soul, does not always think; the proofs, however, of an amorphous state of the mind are not well made out. With the exception of perfect sleep, it seems that the mind is always more or less active. The very consciousness of existence, or the general sensation of vital notions called self-feeling, implies activity in the sentient principle, which we call mind. Mr. Locke, however, well observes, that the perception of ideas is to the mind what motion is to the body, nor is it more essentially necessary for the one to be always in action than for the other. Sensation being one of the functions of which the mind is capable, it is not to be identified with mind itself. This is true enough; and it is what I have been contending for all along,

and is an assertion strictly borne out by sound reasoning. The mind being a word we use to express the Identical Capacity for Sensation, or what we may call the Self, is that which constitutes the individual existence of every animal; but it is not necessarily always in action. The question, however, resolves itself into this, — whether, allowing Sensation always to be an effect resulting from the interventional agency of the *Sensorium* acting between the internal capacity for Sensation or *Mind*, and the external causes of Sensation on *Objects*, is ever so completely at rest during life as to allow the mind to be without the consciousness of anything. Now this question will illustrate the distinction I have drawn between the two sorts of sensation; for in reply thereto we may answer, that if all sensations were necessarily what I have called observative, or, in other words, were only such as are caused by the presence of external objects acting on the senses, then it would appear evident, that whenever external objects were withdrawn, sensation would cease: but since sensations are also conceptive, or, in other words, are remembrances or new combinations of objects once perceived, and re-exhibited to the mind by

its organs, it will be difficult, since the organic sensorium in which these ideas appear is always at hand, to show that the Capacity for Sensation itself shall ever be free from interference. Another thing, too, ought to be mentioned, namely, that though objects exterior to the skin, or outward covering of the body, might be shut out by the sleep of the five senses, yet the vital motions which take place with the body, as pulsation, and so on, which in fact are, when perceived, something between conceptive and observative sensations, might nevertheless continue to keep the mind in a sensitive state. However, what Mr. Locke has written on both this subject and on the origin of ideas from without, is so calculated to make men think deeply on this great branch of metaphysics, that it is a wonder it did not sooner lead to a sound and logical Philosophy of Mind. It ought to have led men much earlier to perceive that every manifestation of the mind was the result of the interference of its living organs, while the mind itself, or capacity of sensation, was a principle as distinct from the vital powers of its organs, as the latter was from the material fabric of the universe. All these three principles are distinct in

essence, though they exist in relation to each other; and hence the knowledge of them explains the three powers, or Σωμα, Ψυχη, or Νους, of the Greek philosophers; the *Corpus*, *Vita*, and *Anima*, of the Romans; the Objectivity, Subjectivity, and Sentiency, of the modern disciples of Kant; and the BODY, LIFE, and MIND, of the Physiology of Abernethy.

This threefold division of the elementary principles of Universal Being has at times been so striking, and has so forcibly absorbed the minds of men, that persons have not been found wanting who have resolved Deity itself into the same principles of which they consider the microcosm of man as the image, and thus, by merely adding terms of infinity, instead of limitation, have described the Godhead as the universal essence or source of these three powers, or as Infinite Intelligence, a power creative of Universal Substance, and a pervading illumination or vital power the Giver of Life. This, they say, corresponds to the *Ens*, *Demiourgos*, and *Psyche* of Platonism; and is the basis of the Indian Trinity.

The Poet has elegantly expressed this spirit or pervading principle of *life* supporting created

matter under all its forms of planets and stars and their inhabitants, and animated by universal *mind*:

" Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, magnoque se corpore miscet."

Not only Virgil, but Lucretius, Ovid, Lucan, and almost all the great poets of Greece, of Rome, and of modern Europe, have broke out into similar strains, and exhibited, as if by accident, in the course of their descriptions of Nature, sublime and imposing pictures of her Powers and Author, which shows how naturally great minds are led from Effects to Causes, and from the latter to Final Cause.

Now the above doctrines do not seem to me to imply the eternal coexistence of matter with the Deity, as Frederick the Great believed; any more than it does the coexistence of individual man, to whom matter is made manifest by the means of life. For the Supreme Intelligence or Deity may comprehend in his essential nature the power to create matter, and to create separate souls, and to place them in relation to each other by means of the vital principle, without having done so from all eternity

e parte ante, as it is called. So that both the material worlds and their inhabitants may have had a beginning, according to the doctrine of Holy Writ. Thus from God the Father would proceed the Power Creative of the universe and of individuals; while from both would result the manifestation of the lifegiving or Vital Power which we have shown to be that which intervenes between the individual mind and matter. The universe so created would all be comprehended by the Godhead; and this consideration will shew us how man has come to be regarded as a microcosm, or little world; and how he is also said to be made after the Image of his Creator. This view of things would, however, not account for the origin of evil, loss, and redemption, unless we regarded evil as some imperfection inherent in the nature of matter, as Plato seemed to have regarded it; but capable of being ultimately overcome by mind guided by the Divine influx. These inquiries, however, when only prompted by human reason, lead to great absurdities. They have prompted philosophers to go much too far, and have led to difficult questions touching the possible organic nature of the Deity,

which are neither conformable to humility, nor to reason, which they are much above; and if some deistical philosophers have shown the resemblance between the Elementary Powers just described and the Holy Trinity, as believed by Christians; it only shows the close analogy that subsists between what pious people believe to be revealed truth, and what appears to result from the highest efforts of metaphysical philosophy. And I think myself with Father Guerrin du Rocher, that, taking every thing into consideration, it appears highly probable that all the opinions concerning mind and the nature of the Divinity, however diversified they may be in certain particulars, have all originated in some antient doctrine taught by the Patriarchs and Prophets, and widely disseminated all over the world, and mixed variously with human passions and defects of judgment. While the fact that similar opinions have resulted from the investigation of all deep thinking men, from Plato, or even before him, to Locke, and to the latest philosopher of our days, only serves to show how much more conformable such doctrines are to common sense than the sceptical writers

imagined, who took only a superficial view of the subject.

The Christian Religion, in fact, embraces the whole that is known about the mind; it is the "Pantalogia," or "All in All," of the Philosophy of Mind: and a correct survey both of nature and of metaphysical truth only support its pretensions. I shall take a little notice now of some of the errors which the scepticomania, or passion for doubting, has led some writers; and of the manner in which they have misunderstood and abused Mr. Locke's opinions; after which I shall show the great assistance which the Philosophy of Mind has derived, 1stly, from Phrenology, or the doctrine of the various powers of the Sensorium, as developed by Gall and Spurzheim; and, 2dly, from Philology, or the Spirit of Language, as illustrated by Horne Tooke; and shall then conclude.

One of the principal errors of some of the followers of Locke was the not duly distinguishing between the material *organs* by which the mind manifested itself, and the *mind* itself. This led to the doctrine of the Materialist, who, finding that the actions of the brain and external senses corresponded

to the operations of the understanding and to sen sations, hastily concluded that intelligence was a property of matter, and denied the distinct nature of spirit. Now, if these and such like opinions are any thing more than idle words, they imply, to use common language, that matter thinks. This doctrine, though not necessarily atheistical, has a great tendency to lead to atheism; particularly when coupled, as it has been, with the still more absurd doctrine of David Hume, that what we called Causation is merely the regular conjunction of phenomena. But this absurdity will be noticed hereafter. Dr. Priestley, who was a firm believer, not only in God, but in a Future State, was nevertheless a sort of materialist: and he tried to evade the consequences commonly deduced from such doctrines, by saying that God could transfer personal identity and consciousness hereafter to another body: apparently forgetting that the most rational and easy way of accounting for continuous and eternal identity, even on the supposition of another body hereafter, was to admit the existence of an immaterial principle which should survive the destruction of the body which it inhabited here. However, I would not

dispute about words, nor contend for any thing but a capacity for sensation, which all must admit. And then the proofs that this capacity is neither the sensations themselves, nor their external causes, depends on the doctrine of Cause and Effect already described, and not on any quibble about matter and spirit. The doctrine of materialism however gained ground with some people: and a few false arguments employed by well meaning folks to refute it, only served to afford it that sort of indirect support which always results from the exposure of the fallacy of an antagonist argument. It was argued against materialism, that the soul could be active when the body was at rest, and dreams were given as an illustration of this assertion. But the materialist succeeded in overthrowing this plea in a moment, by showing that dreams resulted from the spontaneous activity of those very material organs through which the knowledge of external objects had been conveyed. Hence the physiology of dreaming only seemed to confirm materialism. Some remarkable cases of the mental energies being destroyed by blows on the head, and by pressure on the brain, seemed to corroborate this doctrine; and one remarkable case of

the effect of concussion, which occurred at one of the hospitals, seemed strongly to confirm it, in superficial minds. A man fell from the boom of a ship in the river on to the deck, and stunned himself. After the usual course of bleeding he gradually came to; but when partially recovered, he could only talk in the Welch language, which was that of his infancy, and he talked also exclusively of Cambrian scenes and the recollections of his childhood. In proportion, however, as his recovery became perfect, he regained his English and his memory of recent events: thus the effects of the concussion appeared to be that of obliterating the recollection of sensations in the reverse ratio of their antiquity. We do not know much of the laws whereby in age early impressions are vividly remembered, while recent events are forgotten; but it seems referable to the same principle as that on which the effects of the blow above described would be explained. All this seems very mechanical, I allow, and is calculated to delude light thinkers into a belief in materialism; but to those who meditate more profoundly, it will appear that the question does not lie between the terms material and immaterial, which would be a mere verbal quibble. The

question is, whether sensible images or ideas, which we will all admit take place in material organs, do or do not require a distinct sentient Being capable of perceiving them, which I trust I have already shown to be both necessary and well proved.

But the most dangerous paradox was that of Mr. Hume, to which I have alluded, which goes to deny the necessity of similar causes for the production of similar effects, to reduce causation to a mere observed conjunction of phenomena, and consequently to destroy the proofs that there exist in external bodies all those mutual relations and that certain regularity which they appear to us to have, by what we perceive of them in our observative sensations. Hume, in spite of all the empty encomium that has been passed upon him, must have been a superficial observer and bad reasoner, if there were no other proof of his imbecility of mind than this: That he built his false philosophy on some passages in Locke quite misunderstood is evident, which is the reason of my introducing it at all to the reader's notice. The passages are not worth the trouble of quoting. In the "Essay on Cause and Effect," p. 114, and sequel, Lady Mary Shepherd has pointed them out

and ably refuted them, and the reader who is curious to see how far the vanity of a dull and spiritless sceptic will carry him in trying to prove that there is no difference between two things being together and one's being the cause of the other, may refer to Hume's Essays, and then read Lady Mary's refutation of them. The defect was evidently in Mr. Hume's own judgment, or in that particular native power of the mind, resulting from a particular organization, whereby we are enabled to perceive the relation of Cause and Effect.

Opposed to the Materialism of Hobbes and Hume, is the Idealism of Berkeley and others, a doctrine equally sceptical, and equally wanting the foundation of true philosophy. As it would be impossible to examine all the systems of each writer separately, I shall select Berkeley's as the completest instance of the delusions of the sceptical Idealism that can be adduced. Berkeley's argument may be thus briefly stated: he says, since it is acknowledged on all hands that the secondary qualities of bodies, as colour for example, are not in the bodies themselves but in the mind, and have not what he calls real existence; so neither can we prove

the primary qualities, as solidity, extension, and so on, to have any real existence: the only difference between the two sets of qualities being, that the primary are perceived by means of two or more of our senses, as when we both *see* and *feel* the rotundity and solidity of a globe; while the secondary are only cognizable to one sense, as when we *see* a colour to be green or blue, but cannot corroborate it by the touch. Now I am ready to agree with Berkeley, that it is not the perceiving qualities with two or more senses, that proves what he calls their *real* existence, by which he of course means their external and continuous existence when no longer perceived by the mind. For the question of external continuous existence, is not affected much by the number of senses which are called into action. If it were to depend on that, a question of much greater difficulty would arise out of it; namely, since the visual sensation of the colour of the globe, and the sensation of touch whereby we perceive its solidity, are two perfectly distinct sensations, how come we to refer them both to the same external object? If Berkeley had rightly understood the doctrine of Cause and Effect; and had recollected that dissimilar effects

must result from dissimilar causes, he would have perceived that the cause of the sensation *green* could never be the cause of the sensation *solidity*; and consequently that it must be some other power or process of reasoning exercised by the mind, that furnished the belief of an identical external object capable of exciting the essentially different sensations of visible and tangible figure!* Experiment has, I believe, shown, that a blind man suddenly made to see, does not immediately recognize in the coloured forms of the furniture, and other objects about him in the room, his old acquaintances,

* With respect to identity, Locke certainly entertained one very erroneous notion, as he regarded personal identity to be a mere effect of consciousness. "For," said he, "there is a continued identity added to successive atoms of matter." Now to me it seems that identity cannot consist in conscious memory, for in this case, a man would be the same person that he was when a young child; again, it cannot consist in any material substance, for the whole body is changed: therefore, as it is something independent of these two causes when considered separately, it can not result from them when both together. And hence, it must be dependent on some other principle. Analogy, as well as the authority of ages, would rather ascribe it to a product of the formative nisus of generation, by which an individual capacity for sensation was created; and this is, indeed, the more conformable to common sense as well as to Scripture.

the tangible chairs and tables, and windows of his apartment! The power of identifying them comes on by degrees, by a sort of intuitive process of reasoning, which by habit becomes too rapid to be perceived. The sensations are found to respond to certain anticipations of the mind: he walks nearer and nearer, still *feeling* his way cautiously, towards the accustomed place of his tangible inkhorn, and grasps it; thus gradually perceiving that, as he gets nearer, the inkhorn looks bigger, while the leftbehind objects diminish in size, till he holds it, he is made sensible of a sort of correspondence between the variation of one class of sensations and that of the other, which makes him refer both to some common cause of variation, the result of which rational process is the sensation which we call identity. Now the sensation of externality, or the outwardness of objects, owes its origin to the silent but perpetual operation of a process of ratiocination not very dissimilar. And the principal proofs that external objects exist, will be found to rest on this—that, as we cannot conceive effects to be their own causes, so the effects, which we call observative sensations, which are consistent, and correspond at all

times to our demands for their appearance, must either have continuous causes, or else some general or final cause must create their particular causes anew on every occasion of the effects? Now the strict rule of philosophizing which determines the mind to choose the simplest modes of explaining a phenomena in preference to the more complex, does, in this case, direct our reason imperceptibly to believe the causes of our sensations go on existing, whether they be or be not in relation to ourselves. And if so, then they cannot be *in* our minds, since our minds do not always perceive them, nor in the everchanging sensorium, like the sensations which they excite; for in this case they would not be consistent continuous causes: therefore they must be also external.

If Berkeley had told us merely, that sensation could not be like external objects, he would have used a language less objectionable: for we cannot with propriety talk of effects being like their causes. Effects are rather in determinate relation to their causes; so that when one effect resembles another, their respective causes must also have similar resemblance. This can be proved by algebra, or the uni-

versal science of Signs. For if C a is to E a as C b is to E b, then conversely C a must be to C b as E a is C b. Therefore not only do we prove that all our observative sensations have continuous and external causes, as before shown; but we further prove hereby, that the external causes have all the same mutual relations as the effects have, or in other words, that our sensations really represent to us the things of the external world in all their various relations. What more is wanted for true knowledge than this, I know not.

But, though this which I have described is a great blunder of Berkeley's made in the very onset, he is nevertheless guilty of several others, which always follow in the train of bad reasoning, just as untoward soldiers will always be the consequence of a bad general. For Berkeley, after denying material things, actually goes on to explain ideal ones by referring them to the actions of bodily organs of sense; forgetting that the senses, whether we speak of retina, nerves, or brain, are all a part of the external material world.* But I will have done with these

* When Berkeley speaks of objects being merely ideas imprinted on the senses, he thereby asserts the existence of

vague opinions and proceed to discuss Mr. Locke's second and third books, and the developement of philology to which they led: which in fact threw additional light on the true philosophy of mind, which it has been my object throughout these pages to uphold, and which Locke in fact led to, though he never perfectly understood it.

Mr. Locke having treated, in Books ii. and iii. of what he deemed to be *complex ideas*, philosophers began to inquire what complex ideas could be, and whether the *complexity*, *generalization*, and *composition of ideas*, of which Mr. Locke treated, did not in reality relate merely to the terms used to express them, that is to words. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine what the composition of ideas can mean, since ideas are the actually existing sensations of the mind. But if we apply complexity to the term, we can easily perceive how it can be general or complex. The term Garden, for instance, is capable of

the very thing he was trying to overthrow. As my object in this Preface was to exhibit an account of the Philosophy which preceded Locke, and that which his writings gave truth to, I shall not pursue the confutation of Berkeley's wanderings any further but refer to the "Essay on an External Universe," p. 195 and sequel.

conveying a vast number of sensations to the mind: as ideas of flowers, of sorts of fruits, and so on. It was not till the days of John Horne Tooke, the etymologist of Purley, that this subject was cleared up: but in his Επεα Πτεροεντα, vol. i. p. 30, will be found a very masterly exposition of the fact, that Mr. Locke's Book, though it pretends to be an Essay on the Understanding, would nevertheless be better described as a treatise on the Philosophy of Language. For he has all along confounded words or sounds significant, with the sensations of things signified. Nevertheless, both his invaluable Essay, as well as the philosophy to which it led, have laid the solid foundation of the true philosophy of Mind, nor would Horne Tooke probably have ever written his "Diversions," had not Locke written his "Essay" beforehand.

It is a fact highly corroborative of the philosophy which I am upholding, to show, as philology does show, that all language, in its origin and etymological import, relates to modes of sensation. Every part of speech is reducible either to a Noun or a Verb; and, indeed, most nouns themselves may be resolved into the past participle of verbs. Nouns

substantive are the names of definite ideas, which are a particular kind of sensations; thus we use the word horse, for example, as well for the image of a horse when seen, as when thought of: that is, the same word which stands for any given observative sensation, will always represent also the conceptive sensation that corresponds to it. But verbs are the names of motions, of pains, of pleasures, and of actions, which are only another class of sensations, which may also be either observative or conceptive, or may relate to spectral sensations which partake of both: but Verbs do express more than Nouns can, for they imply Cause and Effect, or in other words they stand for Things in relation to their active state or motion: thus, to run, to row, to fall, are all motions, they imply that some cause of change is added to certain things, as there must be *something* running, rowing, or falling. Again, to strike, to be struck, and so on, imply something striking; the term is therefore so far compound. Sometimes the particular sensation or noun is added to the sensation of motion or verb, as where we say, man falls, water runs, and so forth. Now the fact

is, that all parts of speech can be reduced or traced back to these two primitive classes.

I have already alluded to the fact, that language expresses only sensations: we shall see how we are borne out in this assertion: and I will begin by the examination of words which seem at first sight to have the most important significations. The word TRUTH is derived of the past participle of the verb *to trow*, or believe, being the same as the word *troth*, which is only the old way of spelling it. Truth is therefore Belief; and on this Horne Tooke pertinently enough observes, in reply to Beattie, that there can be no longer any absolute eternal truth, than there is eternal and absolute Being to believe it. If this were a solitary instance of a word of great and general import being derived from a verb of sensation, we might well pass it over; but as there is a correspondence throughout, among all words expressive of what is called real existence or truth, it may be worth while to inquire how it should happen, that words used to distinguish what in ordinary language we call *true* not *false* perceptions, should, if we regard their etymology or actual import only, relate to sensations. The fact is as I have observed, that

sensations alone constitute the immediate object of significant signs, which latter, whether consisting in letters or in algebra, are available sources of communicating knowledge, for this reason, that observative sensations are found by reasoning, to be in exact accordance with external and continuously existing objects. Therefore a *real* image or a *true* report of any proceeding, is one which will, on the test of inquiry, be found to have a corresponding external type. But in fact, the conceptive sensations, in as far as they are believed by the mind, are etymologically speaking, as true as the observative.

The word REALITY, which like the adjective *real*, comes from *reor* to think, has a similar relation to sensation alone. THING comes from the verb *to think*, or conversely THINKING is *the being thinged*. Vereor is *valde reor*, to be *very much thinged*; and hence VERITAS is the very thinking, or universal thought, and not the fallacious thought or opinion of any individual. I have taken the pains to inquire, and I find that a similar etymology is to be found in almost all languages.

I have already said that phrenology, which is a science greatly improved of late years, throws much

light on the philosophy of mind. Phrenology is nothing more than an extension or improvement of a doctrine which has been known and recognized for ages, and which forms a part of the true philosophy of mind. For it has never been denied that the mind manifests itself by means of material organs, or by what is most properly called the sensorium, which comprehends the five senses, all the nerves, and also the brain. It has always been known that the brain was as much the organ of the understanding, as the senses were the media of objective sensations; and the phrenologist affirms nothing more than this; except that he has also asserted, that particular parts or organs of the brain are the particular organs or seats of corresponding faculties. Thus, according to phrenology, when the front parts of the brain or forehead are large, we generally find a powerful understanding; when the upper parts are very large, we find strong sentiments of benevolence, devotion, hope, and so on; and the lower and lateral parts, when much developed, are an indication of strong animal propensities. Now this is a discovery of fact, and not, as some vainly pretend, a mere theory: and it is a discovery which bears a close

analogy to every thing else that we have ever discovered in physiology; the whole of which science is founded on the knowledge of the particular functions to which particular organs are appropriated.

To conclude, I must observe that the analysis I have made of Locke's opinions, previous to writing the above, has convinced me that he had a very strong mind, and a natural genius for the study of metaphysical philosophy, which is, after all, one of the sublimest of the sciences; since the knowledge of the principles of mind comprehends the elements of all other knowledge. It constitutes in fact what our forefathers called the examination of the interior man, and when cultivated with diligence and modesty, is capable of leading to great results; greater, indeed, by far, I believe, than is usually imagined. It leads us, too, by examining closely what passes within, to recognize the operation of good and of evil principles, and thereby paves the way for that knowledge of self, enjoined by the noted adage γνῶθι σεαυτον, which is the beginning of wisdom, but which philosophers, in the pursuit of truth, have too often neglected for a mere knowledge of exterior things, from which alone little is to be learned from which

we can derive profit, as we are eloquently told by S. Bernard in his sermon on the Canticles: "Multi multa sciunt, et seipsos nesciunt. Alios inspiciunt, et seipsos deserunt. Deum quaerunt per exteriora, deserentes sua interiora quibus interior est Deus. Sunt namque qui scire volunt, eo fine tantum ut sciunt; et turpis curiositas est. Et sunt qui scire volunt, ut sciuntur ipsi; et turpis vanitas est. Et sunt etiam qui scire volunt ut scientiam suam vendent; et turpis questus est. Et sunt qui scire volunt ut aedificentur, et prudentia est. Uti ergo cibus ingestus, qui bonam non habet decoctionem, malos generat humores et corrumpit corpus, et non nutrit; ita et multa scientia ingesta stomacho animae, quae est memoria, si decocta igne Charitatis non fuerit, etsi per quosdam quasi artus animæ, mores scilicet atque actus, transfusa atque digesta, reputabitur in peccatum, tanquam cibus conversus in noxios pravosque humores. *Scienti enim bonum facere, et non facienti, peccatum est illi.*"

I have been rather prolix in the above analysis of Locke's opinions, from the interest which philosophers have taken in them of late, and which the perusal of any of his writings is calculated to resusci-

tate. I shall now subjoin a few anecdotes of him, as I proposed, and conclude.

§ 3.—SOME MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES OF LOCKE, &c.

In the course of the perusal of several manuscripts in my possession, I have hit on several anecdotes and memoranda relating to Mr. Locke, by his friends and contemporaries, which may amuse the reader and serve to illustrate his character; some of these I subjoin therefore without further apology.

Mr. Locke was particularly fond of children, and one of his chief amusements, when at Mr. Furly's, was playing with the young folks, in which he spent much time. He was also very fond of animals, and particularly disgusted with the cruelty practised towards them in too many cases in England. He could not fail to have been struck with the great analogy that there is between the principles of the reasoning powers of man and of other animals; an analogy which the striking instances of sagacity exhibited by some species, is calculated in a high degree to enhance. This brings to my mind an anecdote of a dog belonging to Mr. Furly, which is worth record-

ing. This animal had gone with his master from London to Rotterdam by the packet; on his return to England Mr. Furly by some accident left the poor dog behind him on the quay, proceeded to his own house in England, and never expected again to see him. Sitting some weeks afterwards by his fireside in London, he heard something scratch the door, and on opening it, to his great pleasure and surprise, in came the dog, who, it appears, finding his master had deserted him, had contrived to get aboard another packet, and followed him to London. Mr. Taylor has collected a great variety of anecdotes of the sagacity of this faithful animal.

I shall relate one of a cock, which happened near Rotterdam during the stay of my grandfather there, with a descendant of Mr. Furly, in the time of the floods, about the year 1740, and probably that very year, after the breaking up of the long frost. The inundation having broken down several of the dams, rushed through the broken dykes, and filled the marshes and farm yards of Holland with water, so that in one place the people were forced to live a long time in the garrets; a cock in one of the farms, finding his feathery comrades drowning apace, and incapable to fly away

from the watery waste around him, very cleverly got into a large bowl, which had some barley in it, and which had stood in the farm yard; in this he floated as in a boat, and having food aboard, lived as comfortably, as Noah in the ark, till the waters subsided, and landed him again on the ground.

Mr. Locke was subject, as it appears from some of his writings, to a trifling disorder of mind, which consisted in the gingling of some particular verse, which he had heard in the morning, in his head all day. He was also subject to hear false voices call, and to fancy the sound of distant bells: but what haunted him most was the troop of hideous faces which passed by his face in the darkness of the night as he lay in bed, in pageant rows, and were for ever changing their ugly forms: he describes these nervous affections with great accuracy, and in his book on the Conduct of the Understanding, has given some directions for remedying them. It is probable that most literary men, and persons of sedentary and studious habits, are subject to these phantoms. I have already described their causes.

Mr. Locke does not appear to have been attached to the learned sciences, with the exception of meta-

physics; for, though some of the greatest discoveries in astronomy and natural history were made in his time, we do not find him even so much as allude to them. Among the number of remarkable events of the kind which took place in Locke's days, may be reckoned the prodigiously large comet of 1680, which was observed so accurately by Sir Isaac Newton. Nor was the great comet of 1688 less remarkable, being calculated, and its return afterwards predicted by Dr. Halley, which accordingly took place in 1759, and will, according to calculation, reappear in 1833. It is remarkable that this, like many other great comets, has always been preceded by fierce cold winters; and hot summers have attended and followed it, together with some prevalent pestilential disease.* Locke, however, took no notice of these things.

For medicine, his original profession, he had very little respect; indeed, from some ludicrous and sarcastic, and truly witty letters of his to his friend,

* See my work on "Epidemic Diseases," 8vo. second edition, p. 170, wherein I have given a catalogue of several hundred Comets, together with the weather, volcanoes, earthquakes, and diseases that have accompanied them.

which I have by me, but which in these days of absurd refinement one could not well publish, he seems to have held physicians and their empiricism, in no small degree of contempt; and he seems very early in his career to have left his calling in disgust, and to have been much occupied all his life with metaphysics and politics. He appears to have had a vast predilection for the Quakers, to have defended them against persecution, and to have laboured incessantly, together with Algernon Sidney and Lord Shaftesbury, his great friends and correspondents, to establish civil and religious liberty in Europe.

It should have been previously noticed, that the letters of Locke to Mr. Clarke and Dr. Sloane, are from the originals preserved in the British Museum, Sloane MSS. Nos. 4290 and 4052.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

According to Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary the date of Algernon Sidney's birth is not ascertained with accuracy, some writers fixing it to 1617, and others to 1622. In either case he was nearly

sixty when the letters contained in this volume were written: they are entirely on business, and prove the patriot to have been far from inattentive to the affairs of his private fortune, and the circumstances which were likely to influence it.

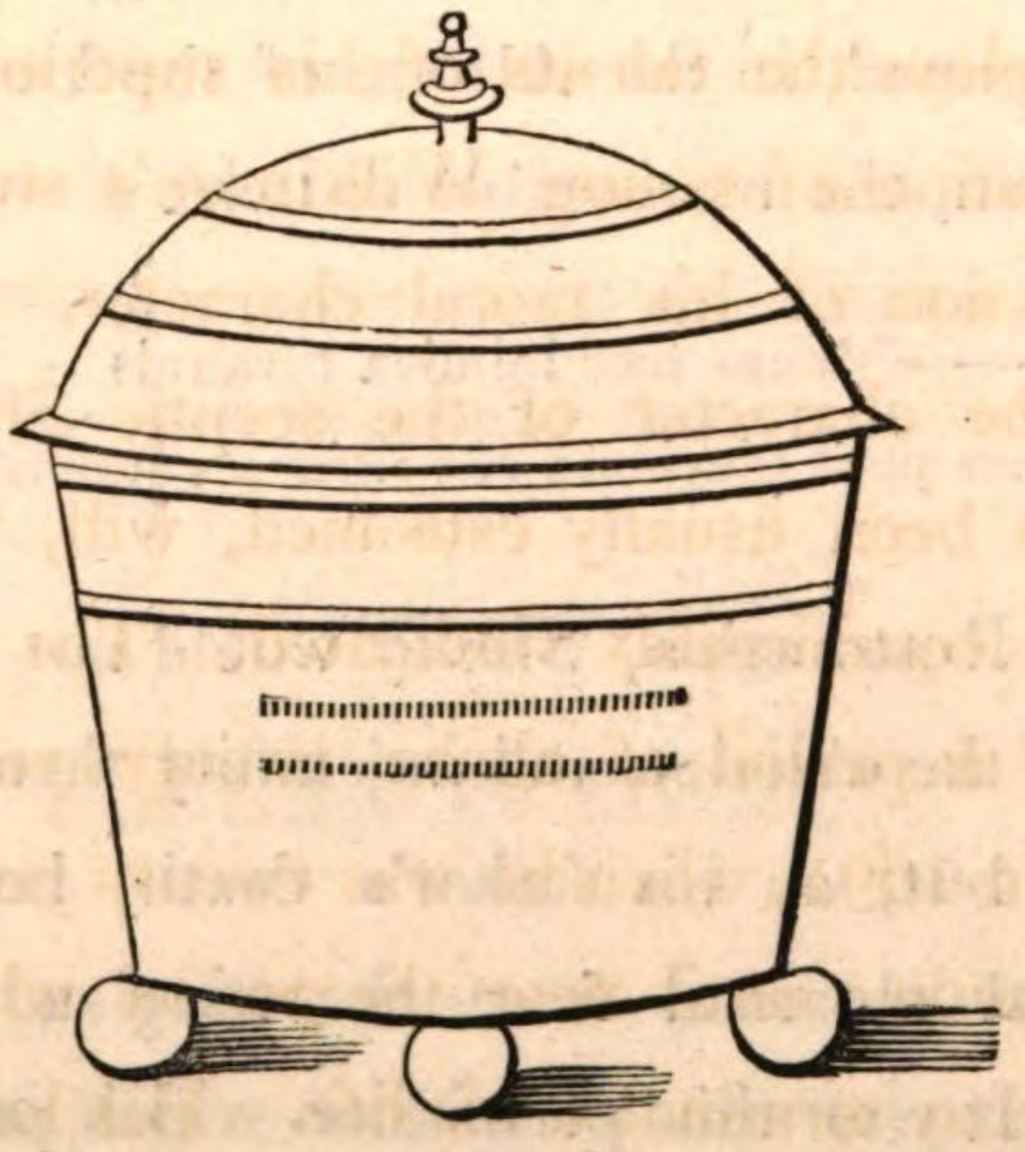
At the period of his penning, in 1677, the first letter now published, his father the Earl of Leicester's death had just occasioned his return to England, for the first time since the Restoration. It was in the year previous to that great change that Colonel Sidney (as he was then called) had been sent by the Council of State, as Envoy to Denmark, and had penned, in the Album of the University of Copenhagen, the memorable distich:

———Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

At the Restoration, Sidney would not personally accept of the oblivion and indemnity then generally granted; but, on his father's death, he returned home, and obtained from the king a particular pardon. It was this permission which proved fatal to him: from the connections which he had formed in France, he was induced to oppose strongly the

French war then pressed by parliament—was thus drawn again in the vortex of politics, and led to the painful, but immortalizing catastrophe of 1683.

Algernon Sidney is well known to have possessed a large silver cup or goblet, used on convivial occasions, for drinking all round. On his death it was bequeathed to Mr. Furly, from whom it descended to the family of the Author. As the reader may be curious to know its form, we have subjoined an accurate figure of it, being about eight inches in height.



THE GIFT OF COLONEL ALGERNON SIDNEY.

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

The letters of the Earl of Shaftesbury record and illustrate several events of importance; and to those interested in the estimation of his character, will furnish more information than it is believed they have hitherto possessed. They will be found to throw considerable light on his religious sentiments; and they exhibit him in the amiable attitude of the guardian and patron of an adopted youth, the success of whose fortunes he endeavours to forward with all the anxiety of a natural parent; and, at the same time, employs the talents of his superior mind in the regulation of young Wilkinson's studies, and the formation of his moral character. By these letters, the character of the sceptic Shaftesbury, as he has been usually esteemed, will, it is imagined, be considerably vindicated. The letters extend over a period of above twenty years, commencing in 1691, when he was twenty years of age, and continuing until near the period when a premature decay terminated his life. His lordship was born at Exeter House, in the Strand, February 26, 1671; and died at Naples, February 4, 1712-13. His visits to Holland, and residence in that country,

for a considerable period, are leading features of his history; Mr. Furly, to whom these letters are addressed, was the principal friend he made there.

BENJAMIN FURLY,*

The friend of Locke, was a merchant at Rotterdam, born 13th April, 1636, a man of considerable learning, and engaged with George Fox and John Stubbs, in the publication of "A Battle Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural, *You* to *Many*, and *Thou* to *One*." The Chaldee, Syriac, Welsh, and French Battle Doors being written by him. He possessed a very large and curious collection of books, which were sold by auction, at Rotterdam, in 1714, "in ædibus defuncti, in Plateâ vulgo dictâ Haringvliet." The Catalogue, entitled "Bibliotheca Furliana," contains, among other rare books, "Liber Sententiarum; Pergamino nitidè inscriptus, et inter duas laminas ligneas compactus; ipsum Autographum scriptum

* The name has unfortunately been misprinted Furley throughout this volume, the printer having been misled by the engraved writing-copy at p. 30, in which it was so spelt.

est; et ubique subscriptum manu Notariorum Inquisitionis, inchoatæ cum anno Christi MCCCVII, ad annum MCCXXIII usque, Indiciisque indubitatis constat esse authenticum exemplar, ex archivis Inquisitionis Tholosanæ depromptum. Ipsæ Sententiæ, quantum ex characteris similitudine colligi potest, scriptæ sunt manu *Petri de Claveriis*, usque ad Sermonem octavum, qui incipit fol. 97. Reliqua Libri pars ad finem usque scripta est manu *Guilihelmi Juliani*; sententiis ubique fermè subscripsit *Jacobus Marquesius*; Liber omnium rarissimorum rarissimus, et quantivis pretii." This was bought in, and afterwards sold by his second son, John Furly, to Archbishop Secker, for the British Museum.

Benjamin Furly left three sons: Benjohan, born 6th January, 1681, one of whose daughters, Dorothy, born 2d July, 1710, married Thomas Forster, father of the late Edward Forster;* John, who

* This is the Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, to whom I have alluded in the early part of this Preface, as being my grandfather. He was descended from the ancient family of Forster, formerly of Bamborough Castle, in Northumberland, so frequently alluded to in the History of England, and a relation of General Forster, who headed the army in favour of the Stuarts in 1715. Mr. Edward Forster

left a family; and Arent, who, I believe, died unmarried. Benjohan and John were merchants; Arent was Secretary to Charles, Earl of Peterborough, General and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Land Forces, serving in the Expedition against Spain; several of the orders dated in the Camp before Barcelona, in 1705, are countersigned by Arent Furly: who, it is clear, must have left the Quakers before he could have accompanied Lord Peterborough. (See the note in p. 203.)

On the whole, it is hoped that the Correspondence contained in this volume cannot fail to interest the public, particularly at a time when the political labours, begun by these powerful defenders of the cause of freedom, seem at length likely to be brought to a happy close in the enlightened and improving age in which our lot is cast.

Boreham, March 31, 1830.

married Susanna Furney, descended from an ancient and respectable family in Gloucestershire, by whom he had issue three sons; my father, whose name was Thomas Furly; Benjamin Meggot, and Edward, the joint authors of the Botanical Notices in Mr. Gough's Edition of Camden's Britannia, and of several publications on the subject of Botany.

LETTERS

OF

JOHN LOCKE.

JOHN GOSKE

of

GELLERT

LETTERS OF MR. LOCKE

TO

MR. BENJAMIN FURLEY,

MERCHANT AT ROTTERDAM.

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26 *December* (1686).

AFTER my hearty commendations of the sheep to your memory, these are to acknowledge that I am indebted to you for two long, two kinde, and two pleasant letters. Count not this, as if you had been lately at the Hague, for six, when I meane but two in all.

I finde by yours of the 23rd, that our thoughts chime as well at a distance as when we are togeather; and that you and I were thinkeing and writeing of our Commissioner about the same time. If, when the fellow's head run against the post, good wits jump'd, what wits, I pray, are we both, whose heads run at the same time against the same

post? Think not that I use the terme post here, with any the least designe of derogating from the work of our author: for methinks all authors may, for some quality or other, be termed post, some for their uprightnesse, some for their stiffnesse, and others for some other qualitys that shall be namelesse.

Another thing I observe from that letter is, that the quicker a man writes the slower others read what he has written; this being a remark that may concern the writers of books, as well as letters, you may do well to put into our next letter of advice to our learned author.

And now I come to the parts of that letter itself, and therein I shall begin with the latter end first, by a figure of elegance, called hysteron proteron, a certain sort of leapfrog of use among the learned, whereby they can, when the matter in hand soe requires, make a Bishop, as grave as he is, who appeared not on the stage till Charles the Fifth's days, leap over the heads of all those who lived before quite as far as to Charlemagne. He that can doe this, I think, may well deserve the reputation of a good jumper.

Could you be so silly as to imagin that you could subdue our Doctor Colonell with a paper potgun, though charged to the muzle? To which side pray did you apply your battery? Did you expect to penetrate the warrier side on which the sword hangs, or the learned side, armed with an ink-horne? Had you made the reflection you ought, you must needs have concluded him

In warlike scuffle most audacious,
And with his pen most pervicacious.*

Is it possible it should enter into your mazard, unlesse it have a crack in it, that you should take in an ancient moniment of prowess, that has soe many times stood the brunt of pen and pistoll, and can still, without flinching, bid defiance to all your rhime and reason, and that he should surrender himself to your bare summons! Could you expect that a man that will not give himself for the washing, should sit still and let you pull his skin over his ears, that you might make a new man of him.

* This part of the letter evidently alludes to some of those numerous writers on the subject of heretical Christianity, who swarmed in the time of Locke, in England and in Holland, and who were often the founders and supporters of new and fantastical sects.

Authors, I mean Colonell authors, at the head of their parties, as easily part with their skins as with their stiles, their ways of reasoning, or the least of their assertions. The madnesse wherewith you expected to worke such a miracle, deserves a diping, and no doubt the Colonell, who is expert at it, would do you this kindnesse. But whether, when he had you under water, he would not clap his hand upon your head, and, according to the method of his brother Doctor of Scotland, keep you there till he were perfectly assured of your being tamed, I leave you to consider.

In the midle of your career with your man of war or man of God, (choose you whether,) you bring me into the broile, and require me to answer concerning the Directory, whether guilty or not guilty? Truly, ffriend, having always thought that travelling to Heaven by a Directory was even as reasonable as to sail to the Canarys by a land map, I have not much made use of these waywisers, and soe may be excused if I say noe thing to your soe peremptory demand. But this, I thinke, I may say safely upon the matter between you and your author, that, whether or noe, according to the

Directorian scheme, the water of Baptisme washes away sin, our diver will be neverthelesse in the suds, the argument you use sticking still as fast as bird-lime.*

That sixteen or seventeen false quotations may passe amongste so many hundred good ones is spoke methinkes like an old soldier; but, if he were now a Commander in England or France, I am afraid it would goe hard with him for false musters, and the greatest part of his regiment would be found to be but mere men of clouts, that, amounting to a great number in shew at a distance, would

* This letter is quite in Locke's style of good humoured banter, and seems directed against some attempt of Mr. Furley, who advocated the cause of the people of the "Lanterne," probably Quakers, against some Baptist, as it would seem, of those times. I have by me a collection of very curious tracts of the early Quakers, of the period to which this letter refers, some bearing the most whimsical titles, according to the fashion of that age. By these I find that a perpetual paper war was carried on between this then increasing fraternity, and other sects. The Quakers seem, however, to have been shamefully persecuted at that period by the Church of England; and so great was the fear of Liberty of Conscience, that the poor harmless Friends were fined and imprisoned for the exercise of their religion, more perhaps than any other sect in the country, and that too at a time when the pretended right of private judgement was most vaunted.

amount to a very few when it came to a close engagement.

But to leave him and come to the Irish, which, methinkes, is much the better understanding. I am very sory, when you were advanced so far, that you were hindered from coming to a conclusion, for you went on very steadily, and that tract you were in must needs have brought you to the very center of the matter; when you see him next I hope you will remember where you left of, and beginning from thence again, take the two or three remaining steps, which are as many as need, to lead your man to Pisgay or a precipice.

You wish me with you, and desire I should make hast, and soe doe I too, but I doubt whether you would be of the same minde if you knew one of my reasons. A caske of mum, an hogshead of syder, and, without doubt, even now and then a bottle of wine, or a zopie among, for a more effectuall remedy against phlegmatique humors and rainy weather; this, I suspect, in my absence will make brave worke, and heresie will rise up apace in the Lanterne when soe waterd, and the mischief is, I cannot finde any one to make my deputy over-

seer. Our old master and you will, I know, be at it with tother glassie, and our mistress, though she will not partake, yet will stand by, clap her hands, and encourage you to it; for my part I think I were best make Arent my vice governor, who may often repeat to you his wil ghy wel laeten.

I see not that you need be soe much troubled about the ducks, how to keep them; tis but letting the tide come into your pack house, and there will be a pond of course, and water enough; tis but now and then throwing in a little meat to them; pray when you send them let the folk know the pains I have taken to procure them, and how often I have preached too, rallied, and dund the poor litle Scotchman for them, soe that I know not whether by persecution of him I have not driven him at last to steal them, but that is no matter, as long as they have them; the ducks will neither breed nor looke the worse for that.

I am troubled about poor Colhans. The booke, called Receuil des diverses pieces concernant le Quietisme, &c. I have got for you, and thought to have sent it to-day, but it being misfolded it must

be a little reformed by the bookbinder, and soe stay till next time.

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Furley, to our good friend, and all the assembly in the Lanterne. The inclosed is for my litle friend, both as a token of remembrance from me, and as an item for him to shew you what you deserve when you medle with your zopies.*

I am, dear friend, yours,

J. L.

I have just now received the three crevats and a 3*d* letter, for which I thank you; the water both in the Tye and on the land side of the town is exceeding high. If it should get into the town, I know not but you must come with a boat and fetch me from Dr. Guenellon's as soon as you hear it. Without jesting, if this north west winde continue, there will be danger.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

* Pig Tails.

29 *December* (1686).

Cato could not make a speech without putting in "Delenda est Carthago," nor can I write a letter without putting in, "Let us get rid of the Sheep." And now to your wellcom letter of 28th, wherein, though I find nothing which I can deny to be soe as you say, yet I cannot approve your sending such hard morsels to breake an old man's teeth, who, I can assure you, has another use of them. Methinks you should have let the year have ended in peace, and not have knocked an old officer in the head with blunt downright truths, against the which, the art of fenceing is not provided. I fear this second seasoning you have sent him will spoil his Christmas cheer, for your ingredients are very strong, and the dose something of the largest. What! purge away all the quotations of all the three books at once. This will as certainly kill him, as it does one swollen with the dropsy to take away all those superfluous humors at once, which, though they make the greatest part of the man's bulke, yet adde noe reall strength to the body. Our champion, covered with soe thick a shell of

armor of quotations upon quotations, (for he was more than clipei septemplicis Ajax,) noe doubt thought himself canon proof. But you, wretch that you are, would strip him of all these covers, and then set him to combat in cuerpo; noe, I thank you, his long experience in the art of war has taught him better, and he knows what convenience it is to be some way or other canon proof.

Make sure of it therefor that, doe what you can, he will not part with them, nor let the next edition dwindle into soe diminutive a size of bulke and learning as you would have it. 'Tis as tolerable for a Colonell to appear in the field with but three or fower soldiers after him, as for a man of reading and leader of a party to appear in print without a whole regiment of quotations, whether to purpose or noe it matters not: the squadron is however full, and the appearance redoubtable; for as to effective, every one cannot distinguish betwixt which is a man, and which a scarecrow. You are a slie gent, and in this affair would have made me a party, by askeing me soe peremptorily in your last letter whether guilty or non guilty. But whether guilty or not guilty in the case Quid hoc ad Iphicli

boves? You must know that this same Iphiclus was a Colonell, and that boves here signifies bulls. For the boy was mistaken that thought there were not bulls too as well as oxen of men's making. But give me leave to advertise you that you are a little mistaken when you thinke that you and I jump soe just in our thoughts concerning your author, since you thinke worth the refuting what I thinke not worth the reading. I confesse you have pretty well suited him to the season; for this is the time for Christmas tales, whose truth men never examin. I am very sorry that the harp was taken out of your hand when it was soe well in tune. I imagin if you had been let alone you had made good musick. When you get him again, besure by the same degrees to winde him up to the same pitch, and then have out the rest of the song. I have been with Wetstein: he says those books are not to be goten. I asked the names of them, and finde that one of them is in that collection concerning the Quietists which I intend to send or bring you. If your man of Cork understands French, this is for your turne, and if you desire it I will send it by the first, but the fault in the bindeing is not

yet mended. I am glad that Colans is safe, and our friend better. As a cordiall to perfect his recovery I must tell him that his friend Greetz wishes it him heartily; she is in the next roome whilst I am writing this, and I intend that, as soon as I have donne she shall sing the *Botterbloem*. As to your ducks and drinke below stairs, I have not now time to enlarge upon those matters. Only I must vindicate myself to my litle friend Toety, whom you must tell that I know he is *Loet*, and therefor that that boy there is *Broer Jan*, or *Broer Benny*, but that which I send here is Toety to himself. I wish you a happy end of this, and an increase of what you wish yourself the year that is comeing, and soe good night. I am

Your most affectionate friend,

J. L.

Remember me very kindely to Mrs. Furley our friend and the yonge ones, espetially Arent.

DEAR FRIEND, 20 *Feb.* 1687.

Bank mony is here at $4\frac{7}{8}$; if you can have soe much for it there, draw on Dr. Peter Gueneillon for 15,000 guilders in bank, and make your bill or bills payable at as short view as you please; nay, if you cannot get $4\frac{7}{8}$, take 4 and $\frac{5}{8}$ rather then fail, for it will be less trouble then to get the bank mony sold here, and then draw it in currant mony thither. But pray let me heare from you about it as soon as you can, that I may know what to resolve in it; for there is noe thing that now stays me here but the weather, and graveing of the plate, which, doe what I could, I could not get the graver to begin upon till to day. I presse it with all my might, that I may get it don with all speed, soe that I may have some copys of it printed whilst I am here; pray, therefor, send me word what number you will have printed, and upon what sort of paper, for then I will get ink and paper in a readynesse to have it done, as soon as ever it is graved, and bring both copys and plate along with me.

Your story of Master Peter confirmes my former opinion of the man, and when you soe much com-

mended his books, I cannot but think of Sir Philip Sidnye's two verses—

" And if the man such praise must have,
What must he that keeps the knave ?"

In good earnest we that lay out our mony in books, have an ill bargain of it if we are not to be thought as learned as our librarys, and if soe, Master Peter is, I think, one of the learnedest men within some miles of him. I pittyed him in that part of the story, wherein he could not read your MS. and that for a reason which I must tell you, because you would not else think of it, and that is, that I found myself very much troubled upon the receit of your last of 18, when I found, whatever longing I had to it, that I could not read it; however, at last I groped out the meaning of the greatest part of it, though there are some words in it still as much beyond my reach as the story of the Beguine was beyond your Rabbys. But pray remember (when you write next) the maxime I once minded you of before, viz. that letters that are writ quick are long in reading.

Since the Colonell is gone, I am glad with

you that our MS. staid: tis something to comfort us in the loss of those notable discoverys we might have expected. I wish your heretical pravity and perversnesse have had noe hand in this tragedy. And may I not justly suspect what you call colick, was heart breaking? I warnd you long since what effect such kinde of dealeing might have on an old soldier and author. Pray aske our friend what he thinks he will make in his next revolution, for in the last he made noe small figure in several capacitys. To be serious, this accident makes me reflect on the folly methinks it is to pudder ourselves and vex others about questions which I imagine the change of the scene will shew us were not worth thinkeing on. But I will not make a funerall sermon; I doe not use to preach in my letters, and doe least of all intend it to you. Give my love and respect to the company in the Lanterne.

I am your very affectionate friend and servant,

J. L.

Pray if you can find any one going for England that will carry a litle book of philosophie, but of four sheets, and yet has noething in it of any affairs, doe me the kindnesse to send me word, for I

am in distresse to send one of my Epitomes. It will take up noe more place then a letter.

DEAR FRIEND, 30 *July*, 1687.

One cannot take amisse the kinde mistake of one's friends. But I should be very sory to have given any just occasion to your wive's misapprehension. Had she been better acquainted with my way of liveing with those I am free with, she would have known that silence, when I have no businesse to write, is a liberty I take with none so much as with the friends I am most assured of, and with whom I think myself past all ceremony. But, to confesse the truth in your present case, I think I should have writ sooner, had I not every day expected that a letter from England would also bring me with it one from you, and that then I should have an occasion to answer. For I every day went or sent to Wetstein's, with hopes to finde one there from you. This be sure, I was any thing rather than sullen; and I was so far from taking any offence, that I am not displeased at the oportunity

of acknowledging, once for all, that I was never any where with more freedom and satisfaction. This to your wife, to whom pray give my kindest remembrance. As for yourself, if I mistake not very much, you and I are past these discourses; and therefore let me tell you, that how acute, how subtil, how learned soever you are, 'tis not you alone have the privileeg to pass for a Jesuite; other people of lower rank may, I finde, sometimes arive at that honour, and, had it not been for an envious Englishman that sat at the other end of the boat, who discoverd the truth, I had in my passage hither gon clear away with that reputation. This story is too long for a letter, and must be reservd to make you laugh when I come. Only I desire you to article with the Baron that he shall not pervert me when I return again to his conversation. For being now got to be of the most orthodox society in the world, I would not be tainted with the least infection of heresie for all the gold our English chemist there is like to make. And I make account to die in this unspotted reputation would doe one as much good as dyeing in St. Francis's owne frock. It is very convenient that you take care in this affair, for I

finde the great desire I have to returne again to the enjoyment of his and your good company will not let me be long away. Pray salute him with my most hearty and best respects, and be assured that I am, with perfect sincerity,

Your unfeigned friend and servant,

J. LOCKE.

Remember me kindly to the litle ones, especially to my litle friend. Bethinke yourself if I can doe you any service here, or for Mr. Van Helmont. I shall be glad of the occasion.

DEAR FRIEND, *9th Jan.* 88.

'Tis not to answer your last letter, noe more than your last answered mine, that I now write to you; but to keep up the correspondence, and to save you thirteen styvers, for soe much the book of the Quietists cost me, which I thought it fit you should know before the ship you sent it by went away. But now I have begun I fear it will scarce pass for a letter, if I, who have not altogeather as much pretence to busynesse as you, should not make it a litle bigger. Though I can tell you I am as busy

as a hen with one chick, or our friend with his new disciple, I cannot, I confesse, but envy you when I consider you in the posture you describe yourself, with the great folio on one side and the diminutive colledg on the other; and, since the minde of man is always hankering after sublime and difficult (not to say unintelligible) notions, I am apt to thinke you ever now and then lend an ear to that instructive discours, and leave for a while your processes, condemnations, prisons, and executions, to take a little fresh air in those unconfined spaces where seperate souls wander at liberty. But have a care you get noe more into the sling of one of these inquisitions then into the dungeons of the other; for I can tell you they are both terrible places. In truth I am a litle afraid of our weeweart brother, that one of these two will be his lot; for, if he gets but half way, his advance will only be into a state of darknesse and instability, which as I take it is the *sling;* or, if he come to a perfect illumination, father Yvor's zeal for the Church will catch him, for I dare say that good man is noe more able to endure any hæretical pravity than the Archbishop of Tholose himself. The greatest kindnesse, there-

for, you can do your Frieslander is to turne him out of dores with all speed, and send him to our Coll. Dr. in his way home, who may take him a litle into his cure, for I phansy dipping at this time of year is an approved remedy to compose a man who begins to have his head a litle over warmd with these danceing sparkleing ideas, which the ignorant call ignes fatui. The knight and his lady you say are gon. I am glad the trinkets are got again, and the knight is an excellent knight if he has left the booke behind him; you say noething of that in your letter, however, I presume you made use of your time. Remember to send me in your next Blanchardus's name of our Mercurius Coagulatus, and answer my last letter in all the points, or else I will conclude you are wholly taken up with the Colledg, and are afraid this new schollar should outstrip you.

I am glad our friend is soe well as to endure soe much fatigue; but in these matters he has an admirable faculty of talking without much labouring his thoughts. My kind remembrance to him, to Mrs. Furley, and your yonge ones. This I think is enough for a man who intended only to put in

"Item, for Molino's booke, £0. 13. 0," but I am not you see so good a dispatch of accounts as you merchants.

Adieu, J. L.

Nec dum finitus Orestes, for the Sheep are not yet in; and I can noe more write a letter without mentioning them then a tayler can make a doublet without collar and belly pieces; they are the chief stifning of my epistles. Pray, therefor, when you send them, (for goe they must,) remember to write three or fower lines to Mr. Jo. Elwill, of Exeter, to recommend them to his pastorall care, and tell him that they are for Mr. Edward Clarke, of Chipley, by whose order you consign them to him, and if they arrive not there till near their yeaning time, twill perhaps be advisable they should travel noe further this winter.

You will do well to enquire of Hodder whether he has not a piece of ash for you. Mr. Clarke I remember mentioned a good while since that he had sent a piece to Exeter for you, and methinks it should be come with this. But perhaps the seamen taking it for a collar of brawn, or some such Christmas present, eat it, and so were forced, find-

ing it somewhat dry and hard, to drinke your cider to helpe it down. If it be so, you have noe reason to bethinke them your liquor; they well deserved it.

Being hinderd yesterday from writeing, and fearing the same might happen to me again to day, because I am to be abroad in the afternoon, I had just made an end of the above written, when in came your kinde one of yesterday. I thank you for your care of the sheepe and the name Senexton. As to my vessell, to increase your wonder, and put you further than ever you were by answering about the dimensions, for I see you imagin it a nutshell, I tell you that I was swiming in it, moy Sixieme, and it would not only have held but caryed a dozen or twenty more; and now goe and break your heads with thinking, or your hearts with despair of not discovering what it is made of. To Toetie I send this message, that, if he continues to be stout, I will bring him noething, and that, when I come, Jantie shall be my friend and he noe more.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

DEAR FRIEND, [*Amsterdam,*] 19*th Jan.* 88.

'Tis not the cold weather, that freezing my fingers or my inkehorn has kept me soe long from answering your kinde letter of 12th; but the thaw, which making me expect from day to day the opening of the water, I delaied writeing in hopes to send something else with my letter. But since the ice is loath to be gon, and that I may not seem colder to you than the weather, 'tis time I take hammer in hand to patch up this gap in our conversation. I am glad to finde you soe busy in your old mine, from which you get such lusty lumps of metall; but I would not have you throw them too hard at the Collonel's head, for fear of hurting the brainpan if they should light unluckily in the tender place, for I can tell you we authors have all of us a soft place, which will not very well bear with any thing but gentle handleing. I envye your imployment in that musty manuscript, which you will easily allow to be a great deale better than to wait here the leisure of dronken workmen, who have soe great a reverence for the holydays, that they could not till today quit the Cabarets, the

places of their devotion, and betake themselves to their profane callings. This attendance I have been obliged to, makes me desire you will have a litle pitty on our Dr. Com^{r}; for it costs, as I have already told you, not a little pains and patience to be at any rate an author, and 'tis a little uncharitable to tell one who has shot the gulf, that he has plaid the foole to be at all that trouble only to expose a cargoe of counterfeit wares and tinsel. I confesse that passage of a child of two years old which you have met with between these wooden covers is a stick of dry wood, and needs more than one diping to make it pliable to his purpose, soaking itself, and wreathing as much as you will scarce do it. And I fear at last the Albigenses themselves, of whom he has made so much reconing, will prove but heretics, that were nicknamed Καθαροὶ, and never knew the true way of water purification. I am glad you have found something for satisfaction of our friend too. I hope it came to light whilst the Frieslander was there, and that he had that too away with him in his budget, for the edification of the sole Church of Christ in and out of the world, consisting of about three score

and thirteen persons, by which you will see that the church is increased since the time of Egyptian darkenesse. The good man is, I perceive, gon away as rich as if he had met with King Oberon in one of his highest fits of liberality. For, what thinke you, will it not all prove fairy treasure? and when he comes to produce it to open view, will not all the glittering gold, he goes home loaden with, turne all to leaves? All the good notions our friend has put into him, will, I fear, when he has cloathed them with his own language, look litle better than what ignorant people call nonsense. But what had you to do with your worldly wisdome to minde him of the register of births and mariages. What agreement had those dull and secular matters either with his new acquired illuminations, or with the discipline of a church retired out of the world? But you love to put people besides their principles, which is usually but little better than to remove a child that has becack himself out of the place where, notwithstanding that, he sat quietly: whereby you make it be taken notice of that he is besh—. Did you not know that their patriarch's example was proof enough to shew that it was not always

convenient that the times and circumstances of such fleshly matters should be left upon record, and doe you thinke they have nothing else to doe than to keep a register when de Lameron Gods speelen. By this Dutch expression there hangs a story, which if you know not already you shall have hereafter. In the mean time pray tell my friend Toetie that I will not change him for any other, but he must remember to be *soet*. I hear people every where grumble as if they suspected this approaching sommer would be full of bustle; but doe you minde your collections, as I am resolvd to busy my thoughts about finishing my Essay De Intellectu, & sinere res ire ut volunt; which by many years practise I finde to be the best politiques. One word of the sheep and I have don with the time, (viz.) that I have bought some seeds that I intended should have gon with them, but that very day the frost stopd the boats, and I know not how to send them. My kind remembrance and love to all chez vous. I am, yours,

J. L.

Well jumpd again, for soe I see by the begining of this and yours of 18th, (which I have received

just now,) that our thoughts have don without communication. I am soe often put besides writeing by company in the evenings that, haveing considered how long I had been in arear to you, I resolved this morning, before I rose, to write to you as soon as I was up, and soe secure myself from farther delay and the chideing I had deserved. It proved, it seems, a litle too late, but I have noe reason to be very sory for it, since your chideing has been soe very gentle. Had I not certain proofs that you are PRETTY GOOD ENOUGH in your own nature, I should suspect that you handle me thus smoothly with designe to draw me in to be hereticated by you. The truth is, I finde you have gone a great way towards spoiling of me already; but if those you tell me are the conditions of heretication, I hope you will permit me to follow the wise example of those good people, and not to send for you to exercise that office till there is hopes of dyeing quickly after. I long to know what new gang this is that you have found, which we took for Waldenses, and for that as well as some other lanterne reasons, I wish the printers could dismisse me. I am told they will today begin to worke, and then,

if you are for a new sort that was never yet in the world, I may chance to hereticate you upon promiss too of good behaviour; though it contain not fasting thrice a week, and some other sort of abstinences, to which perhaps you and every one in the lantern will not so easily consent. The Doctor Colonell is I see noe changling; you may beat him out of his old holes as much as you please, he cannot but return thither again; rest satisfied and assured of that, and then deale with him as you think fit. I for my part consent he should be anything but a Commissioner again. However, pray get the Groningen Catalogue; I hear it is an excellent library, and I will endeavour to finde somebody here that may buy for us any books there we desire. Such a strange beast as you mention I myself have seen in France; they are called Gimars, and it is a very laborious creature. Once more I wish you all health, quiet, and mirth, and myself with you.

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

Amsterdam, 26th January, 88.

DEAR FRIEND,

Though you southern people of the Maes have soe much the advantage of the neighbourhood of the sun, that the waters are open for the boats from Rotterdam hither, yet we that lie under a colder star are under a longer blockade, and have not yet the passage open from hence to Rotterdam. Every day since the receit of your last letter I have sent Syl to enquire when the boats goe, and he has hitherto always brought me back word " not yet;" so that, not knowing when the enchantment will be over that holds all the water out of town fast in ice, whilst all in the town is open and clear, I send you this letter to tell you that the book of the Quietists that you sent for has been ready ever since the receit of your letter, and will be sent with the seeds sometime between this and Midsomer, but the particular day is not marked in the almanack.

I am glad you have given off your Colonell. If you hope with dint of arguments to make impressions on such men of arms, you know not

Th' impenetrability does environ
Men that are clad all in cold iron;

and, therefor, you doe to my minde much better to apply yourself wholy to your old hereticks, and when you have converted one of them, or are converted by them, I will then give you leave to reform our modern author, and to hope you may persuade him not to write upon trust any more; but to publish only what he himself can produce authentique proofs of. But, if these be the laws you will set us, it will be a hard world with us authors; we shall make but poor earnings of it, for our books will not be a quarter so big, our quotations not a quarter so many, nor our learning appear a quarter so great, as in the more Christian way of writeing, where faith supplys knowledg; and would it not savour a little of infidelity in one of the faithfull, not to say anything for the truth but what he had plain Dunstable knowledg of; and thus to deprive himself of all that more copious and more ready assistance that is to be had from beleiving?

The roast beef fasting you have found out, I advise you to keepe as a secret, till you hereticks of

the lanterne set up for yourselves, for it will be a most orthodox prevaileing article, and worke powerfully in those that are preordaind to be converted.

The Groeningen Catalogue is to be had here, but you must pay 15 styvers for it. This methinks is not orthodox; and therefore I shall abstain from such undue practice, unlesse you give me order to the contrary. 'Tis the biggest catalogue I ever yet saw; it has above 600 pages in 8vo, printed as close as Heysius's Catalogue was. I have borrowed one of a friend, who has also promised me a commissioner that is not an author, if I have a mind to have any of the books bought for me.

As to the news you send me, I know nothing can be donne, after such a reprimand and such misdemeanors, but to put in Marc Coleman's petition. If you think I have not discretion enough to governe myself, I desire discretion may be put into me. I find it not at all talkd of here. I have set your friends in England a gapeing for the ducks, as well as mine for the sheep, therefore you were best look to it: but not half soe much as a certain writer from Rotterdam has set severall a gape-

ing about a pardon, for 'tis not he alone whom you mention in a former letter, but here are others too that are at a losse, and inquisitive about it, to whom it would be acceptable to receive some further and more particular notice. Pray, therefor, if you know anything more concerning that matter send me word in your next.

If you had asked me where the best chocolate is to be got in London, I should answer you where the Devil had the friar, even where you could finde it; but to Joanna and Rachel you must say that I had formerly a friend there, that made it very well, and just as I directed; but now she is dead I could noe more tell where to find the best then the greatest stranger there. Pray tell them that I am sorry I cannot doe them the service I would in this affair.

As to your yellow copies, I have been seekeing out the best way I could finde to furnish you. After severall gravers talked of, that which I thought the most ready and best way was to speak with one Hogeboom, who is both a writing-master and the graver of his own copys, whereof Syl tells me you have a book; him I went this afternoon to speak with, but our directions haveing faild us

which were given to finde his house, the rain, after haveing wanderd and enquired some time in vain, beat me off. Syl, who I left to search further, brings me word he has found his house, that the man has been sick these eight days, and is not to be spoken with. In your next, send me word whether you would only have some copys of an old plate, if I can light on one to our purpose, or whether you thinke it better to have one graved on purpose, and what bigness you would have the letters of. So much to yours of 21.

To what you demand in yours of 19th, I cannot tell, nor learn where your friend Petrus Johannis found the changement of that text in St. Matthew; but, if you desire to know where proofs are to be had of severall alterations that have been made in the Gospels, you need but looke into *Defense des Sentimens de quelques Theologiens*, &c. p. 535, &c. The book is about the bignesse of Lily's Grammar; you will finde it amongst the books in my chamber, bound in vellum. But, concerning your manuscript, pray tell me how long shall you have the keeping of it; for I must have my time with it too, therefor part not with it till I come. I sup-

pose to morrow there will be one sheet printed of my works, and there being but fower in all, I hope now their hands are in, they will go on roundly, and not make me wait much longer. I fear you mistooke concerning the name of our Mercurius Coagulatus, in Blanchardus. I have borrowed his praxis, and found his Xenexton, which is the same with Van Helmont's, being an amulet against the plague, consisting of the pouder of toads.

Poore Wetstein hopes, by your assistance, which he begs, to have the intercession of the Governor of Pensylvania to help him out of the briars. His case you will finde here inclosed. He begs you would by this Tuesday's post write to him to give his helpeing hand, and send your letter to his brother, according to the addresse you will finde in his paper here inclosed, who may deliver it, if there be occasion, to our friend W. P. and informe him in the present state of the affair with all the circumstances. It seems a very hard case upon him as he has stated it, and I know you are always ready to all the good offices you can for every body, though I conclude this will not fare the worse with you for my appearing in it; besides that this

hinders the commerce of letters. I wish all in the lanterne well, and am your assured friend,

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

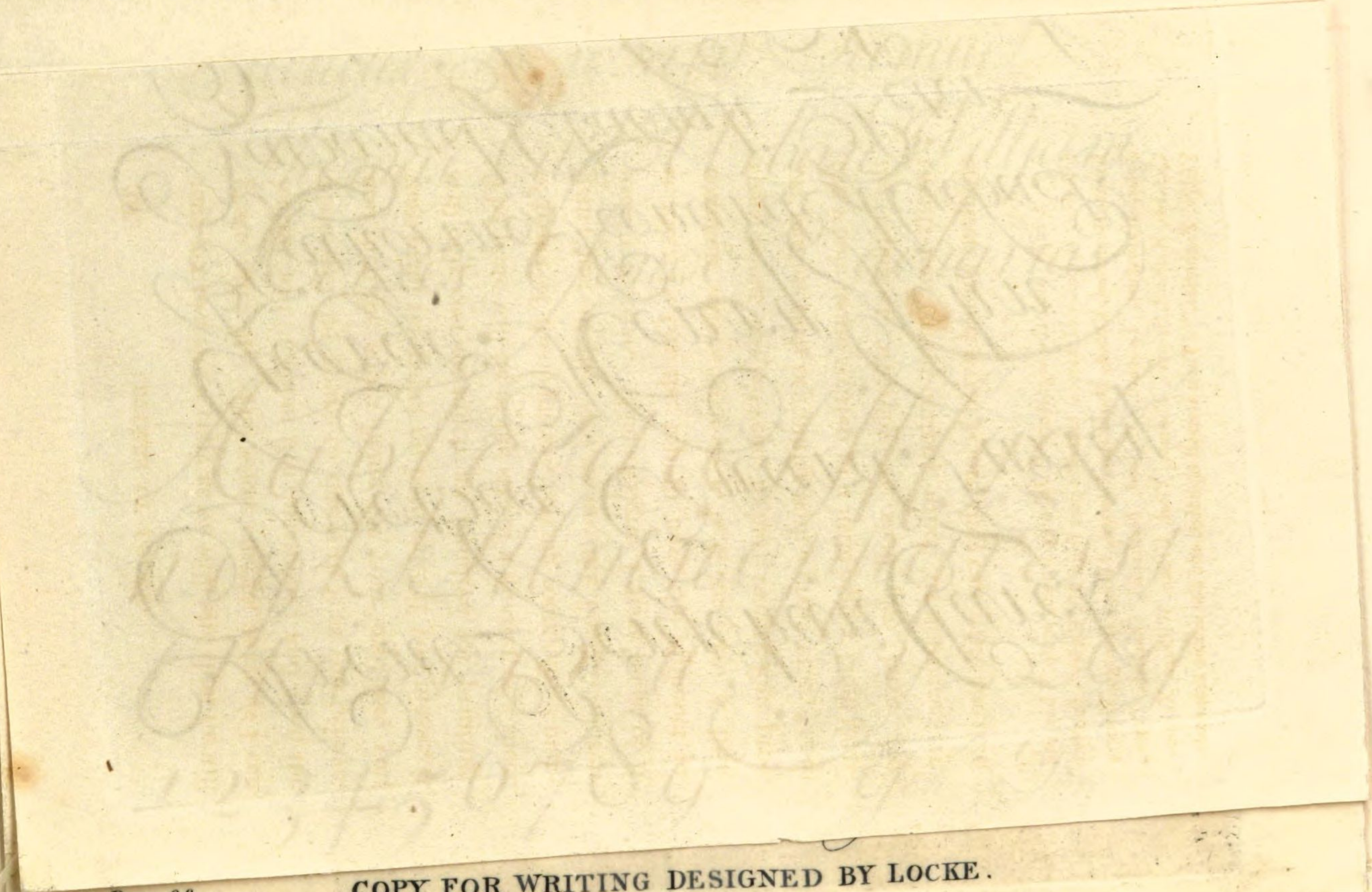
DEAR FRIEND, 2 *Feb.* 88.

You need not have made any apologie for the three words of Dutch you put into your letter, for I thinke I understand them right enough when I understand by them that you would say you hāve noe hellebar strong enough to cure our Commissioner. Laat ons, Laat ons; there is a Dutch Rowland for your Oliver, to shew you that I am a proficient. The judges you mention follow not Pontius Pilate's pattern of "quod scripsi, scripsi;" how much the uprighter you will thinke them for it lies in your breast.

Coomans is not in town. However, I have found a graver which I think will doe our businesse, and he tells me of a book keeper in town who writes better then that writing master I was with, who we

may get to write a copy as we will, and then he will grave after it. The whole charge, as far as I can learne, will be about five ducatoons; and then the plate will be yours to doe with it as you beleive, and then the copys being for your own use, you may print the paper on both sides if you please, it will only cost soe much an hundred for printing. The plate will be of the size of a quarter of a sheet of paper of this bignesse, leaving roome for a margent; just of the size as are the books children usually write in. The designe I have made of it is this: 1°. On the top to have the alphabet in common letters, such as a, b, c, &c. 2°. A litle space being left between, to have twenty-four proper names, each beginning with a great letter,* and the whole name written in a little bigger hand than the alphabet, whereby we shall also have the twenty-four great letters, which 'tis not necessary children should write before they can write the litle

* A copy, with the signature "John de Broen, sculp." has the following alphabet of names, taken in part from Mr. Furley's family: Arent, Benjohan, Clarck, Dorothea, Edward, Furley, George, Henry, John, Katherine, Leonard, Michael, Nathaniel, Obadiah, Peter, Quintus, Richard, Samuel, Thomas, Vitel, Urban, William, Xerxes, Yonge, Zacharias." Then a small alphabet and the arabic numerals.



Page 38. **COPY FOR WRITING DESIGNED BY LOCKE.**

letters well, and begin to write joyn hand. 3°. After these proper names I intend some usefull sentences writt in the same size with the first alphabet. These shall fill up the rest of the page. If you will have a plate, and like my designe, send me in your next the size of the letters you would have the first alphabet of, and I will get it executed the best I can. Send me also your eldest son's name as you write it. I commend very much the discretion of Mrs. Furley that she would not give him præcipitates. 1°. Because physick is not to be given to children upon every litle disorder. 2°. Physick for the wormes is not to be given upon bare suspition that there may be wormes. 3°. If it were evident that he had wormes, such dangerous medicines are not to be given till after the use of other more gentle and safe remedys. If he continues still dull and melancholy, the best way is to have him abroad to walke with you every day in the air; that I believe may set him right again, without any physick; at least, if it should not, 'tis not fit to give him remedys till one has well examind what is the distemper, unlesse you thinke (as is usually donne) that at all hazards some thing is

to be given, a way I confesse I could never thinke reasonable, it being much better, in my opinion, to doe no thing then to doe amisse. I hope to see you now in a short time; and, if he be not perfectly recoverd before that time, we will then examine the matter a litle nearer. But I hope exercise in the open air may doe the businesse, at least I hope there will be noe thing that will presse in the meane time.

In the description you send me of our Fr. Colhans, I cannot but finde satisfaction. Methinkes I see old father Luther installed in his principality, and securd behind a circumvallation of folios. I hope the worke will goe on luckily. I wish well to it, and to the author: and I am much better pleased with him amongst those silent authors then I should have been that he was amongst the silent fishes. I had forgot to enquire for the gazette he mentions when I was last at the bookseller's; but I will the next time. I thank him for the intelligence, and desire to have my respect to him. Be sure to keep the manuscript till I come; I must have a touch at him. My love to Mrs. Furley, our

friend, and the yonge ones. I hope by the next to hear that Benny is out of his dumps. I am,

Your affectionate friend,

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
on the Scheepmakers' Haven, in Rotterdam.

DEAR FRIEND, *Amsterdam*, 4 *March*, 1688.

If lying be a sin that is put to account, most ordinary tradesmen will I fear have a hard reconing to even in the next world; for there is scarce one of them one can finde who thinkes it not a priviledg of his calling to breake his word whenever it may serve his turne. But, however, they are all good Christians, orthodox believers, and such as one cannot but know to be marked for salvation by the distinguishing L that stands on their dore posts, or the funeral sermon that they may have for a passport if they will goe to the charge of it. This preface will not be altogeather besides the matter, if you expect me (as 'tis like you doe) the same day you receive this. But, whatever businesse, desire,

or resolution one has to see one's friends, those above mentiond Gent. I assure you, are first to be attended, and their leisure to be waited. And 'tis noe small joy that I am got soe far out of their hands that I can now say with some confidence that I hope to be with you on Saturday next. As an evidence thereof, I sent you by the day's Veer Scuyt two boxes and a bundle of books; they are marked B. F. 1°. 2°. 3°. the least of the boxes is that which you sent my linnen and the apples hi-ther in. The other box is twice as big, and has great iron hinges, and is fastened with a padlock; and the bundle of books is as long as the largest size of printing paper folded the long way. These you may receive as pledges that it will not now be long befor I intend to assure you in the lanterne that I am,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

J. L.*

* The bantering, in this letter against *Orthodoxy*, is one of the defects too often apparent in Locke's writings. He was not an Arian, as some commentators think, but a close perusal of his writings convince me that in matters of religion his mind was wavering and sceptical, and his arguments unsound and easily refuted.—T. F.

DEAR FRIEND, *Oates*, 28 *Ap.* 90.

Though I am very much concerned and troubled for your great losse, yet your sorrow being of that kinde which time and not arguments is wont to cure, I know not whether I should say any thing to you to abate your grief, but that, it serveing to no purpose at all but makeing you thereby the more unfit to supply the losse of their mother to your remaining children, (who now more need your care, help, and comfort,) the sooner you get rid of it, the better it will be both for them and you. If you are convinced this is fit to be don, I need not make use to you of the common though yet reasonable topicks of consolation. I know you expect not to have the common and unalterable law of mortality which reaches the greatest, be dispensed with for your sake. Our friends and relations are but borrowed advantages lent us dureing pleasure, and must be given back when ever cald for; we receive them upon these termes, and why should we repine? or, if we doe, what profits it us? But I see my affection is runing me into reasoning, which you need not, and can thinke of without any

suggestions of mine. I wonder not at the greatnesse of your grief, but I shall wonder if you let it prevaile on you; your thinkeing of retireing some whither from businesse was very naturall upon the first stroake of it, but here I must interpose to advise you the contrary. It is to give yourself up to all the ills that grief and melancholy can produce, which are some of the worst we suffer in this life: want of health, want of spirit, want of usefull thought, is the state of those who abandon themselves to griefs, whereof businesse is the best, the safest, and the quickest cure. I say not this in favour of your doubt whether you should be acceptable to any of your friends: I know none of them you named that I doe not thinke you would be acceptable to. And I can assure you of it from some whom you did not then thinke of; my Lady Masham, alwayes enquireing very kindely after you, when I told her by the outside that the letter I had then received was from you, was impatient to know how you did, and when I had told her of your losse and sadnesse, was mightily concerned, and desired me so tell you that if you would come and spend some time here with her you should be

very wellcome. You do not doubt, but I should be exceeding glad of your company; I know no man's I would sooner have or should be more pleasd with; were I setled in an house of my owne, I should tell you how welcome you should be to me a litle more at large, but I suppose you doubt it not. But, for all this kinde and sincere invitation from my Lady Masham (the like wherof I doubt not but you would receive from your other friends if they knew your state and present thoughts) I advise you to thinke of none of them. You would be presently sick of, and constantly uneasy in such a course of life. Keep in your imployment; increase it, and be as busy in it as you can now more than ever. This is best for you and for your children. And when your thoughts are a litle come to themselves and the discomposure over, then calmely consider what will be the best way for you to dispose of them and yourself; but at present lay by none of your businesse, nor neglect it in the least. I know there is little roome for reasoning in the first disorder of grief; what that proposes is alone hearkend to. I must therfor desire you to trust me on this occasion. I am truly your friend,

and love you; and therefor you may doe it. I am unbiassed, and not under the prevalency of any passion in the cure, and therefor am in a state to judg better, and I will be answerable to you for it you will hereafter thank me for this advice, and for your children we will hereafter, when you are in a better state to doe it, consider what will be best for you to resolve.

I have writ to you twice concerning your Doctor in Scotland but have never heard a word from you. I told you in my last that Mrs. Lockhart tells me he offers to pay the principal in five years, bating the use. She thinkes not fit to abate the use. This is the state of the case; by it take your measurs. She will be ready to serve you by the same hands she manages her owne concernment with him. I sent to Mr. Wright's lately for your Skinner, which is for Arent when you have don with it. I sent also to Mr. Wright the translation of the first book of my Essay, with a letter to Mr. Limborch, to whom I desired the translation might be conveyd. I suppose he has sent them by Robinson, who told me he had such a role directed to you. I also desired Capt. Robinson to

pay you the five pounds for Tho. Davis. Pray have a care of your health, and believe that I am sincerely yours, J. L.

I writ you word by Capt. Robinson that I had received the Down, but not P. Simon's books, which Robinson says he received not, nor can hear of. Remember me to my litle friend and his brothers. Send me word in your next what you have laid out for Syl, for his letters, &c. that I may take it of him here.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
an English Merchant in Rotterdam.

In a letter of medical advice, dated London, 17th Dec. 90, Mr. Locke concludes with mentioning that "Mr. and Mrs. Popple, my Lord Ashley, Sir Walter Yonge, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Freke, are all by whilst I write this, and remember you."

DEAR FRIEND, *Oates*, 3 *Feb.* 91.

* * * *

I bear the winter pretty well here; but, going to London at Christmas, I wanted breath presently, and was almost dead in a fortnight.

I have received the Latin translation of the first booke of my Essay. I know not by whom, but you say noething of it in yours either of the 2d or 6th.

When you see the gentleman from whom you receiv̄ed a letter from the Hague just as you were writeing to me yours of the 6th, pray present my most humble service to him, and tell him that I was extrem glad to hear that, after his fourteen howers adventure, he got at last safe on shore, whoever it was that has the credit by good advice to have saved the cargo.

Pray send by Robinson P. Simon's Critical List of the Versions of the New Testament. Vossius his books I thinke were left to his brother. If I mistake not, I have been told the Universitie of Oxford was like to have bought them of him, and offerd, as I have heard, a good round sum for them; but what is become of them now, I cannot

tell, but will endeavour to informe. My kinde love to your wife; I wish her an happy hower. Remember me to my litle friend. I am yours,

J. L.

For Mr. Benjamin Furley,
an English Merchant in Rotterdam.

LETTERS OF MR. LOCKE

TO

EDWARD CLARKE, ESQ. M. P.

Edward Clarke, Esq. of Chipley near Taunton, was one of the Burgesses for that borough in seven Parliaments, from the first of King William, which met in 1690, to the third held by Queen Anne, which was dissolved in 1710. Locke addressed to him his Thoughts on Education.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 18 *May*, 89.

I mentioned the Judges' opinion, because, it being a matter of law,* I thought that would carry most weight with it, and that, if the Lords Justices or the Councill should demand their opinions in the case, they would then give it. But I agree with you that a proclamation of the Lords Justices to the purpose you mention would be of infinite use, and I hope those who have done soe much in

* This apparently relates to the clipping of money then prevalent.

this affair will be able to obtain that too. And take care that the proclamation be soe drawn or by such an hand as may not increase the difficulties and doubts. Some examples of the kinde you mention, espetially amongst the Lombard street blades, would make the matter goe glib, and raise the croke against them, and turne the poore suffering people's eyes upon them; for there lies the great obstruction. Hold but tight as you have begun in London, and we shall doe well enough, and your country will blesse the Col:

I thank you for paying the money as you did to my cosins Bonvill and King. That from my cosin Bonvill I have received, and shall make the best use of it I can. I intend to be in town as soon as the weather is but so warme that I leave off fires. It is now with us perfect winter weather, and I write this by the fire's side. But warme weather cannot now be far off. But, however that may happen, pray give me at least a week's warning, and as much longer as is possible, before the day set for your journey into the country; for I must needs see you, and have many things to say to you, and therefor will venture my lungs a little sooner

then otherwise I would in town not to misse the oportunity of kissing your hands. Else, not knowing how long I may be detained, I would if I could have soe much warm weather as to get off the remainder of my cough, before I venture into that enimic air. I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

J. Locke.

My humble service to the Batchelor. All here present their service to the whole Coll. I know the multitude of your businesse, and therefor do not wonder that you say nothing to me of having yet received a note of Sir Stephen Evans for my Lady Day's salary, which I some time since desired you to take of him when the order from the Treasury was come to pay the excise officers. If you have not yet received it of him, I beg leave to minde you of it againe, and to desire you to take it of him, and let it bare the date that you received your salary.

For Edward Clarke, Esq. Member of Parliament, at Richard's Coffee House, near Temple bar.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 2º *Nov.* 1692.

My wife and I, and all here (except Mrs. Cudworth who also is much mended) are well; and, according to our respective dutys, salute you. I cannot let Sir Francis* come to town without telling you this, though I have very little else to say, unlesse it be to thank you for your care and trouble in my affairs, and that would furnish me with matter enough for more than one letter. I have this further favour to beg of you, that would send for Mr. Aunsham Churchill, (to whom I have writ fower or five times to desire him to send me the sheets which have been printed since I came out of town, but can not receive a word from him,) and tell him I would by noe means have him publish it† till I have perused all the remaining sheets, which I would have him send to me. I desire you would give yourself this trouble; for I am concerned to see it before it goe abroad. Pardon me the trouble I give you with my letters, and believe that I am perfectly yours, J. L.

* Sir Francis Masham, of Oates.

† Apparently his Thoughts on Education.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 11° *Nov.* [1692].

Omnia bene you know needs not many words to make a returne in; I wish you can give such an account from thence.

I expect every day several books concerning the Inquisition writ by Mr. Limborch.* Amongst the rest there is one for the Bishop of Bath and Wells with a letter to him. I have ordered Mr. Pawling to put what is for that worthy Bishop† into your hands, to be deliverd him by you in my stead and with my service; pray excuse my not haveing waited upon him as I have a long time desired, and hope ere long I shall have the oportunity to doe, though it be one of the inconveniencys. I suffer from my ill lungs that they usually drive me out of town when most of my friends, and those whom I would wish to be near, are in it.

For Edward Clarke, Esq. Member of Parliam^t^,
at Mrs. Henman's, overag^t^ Litle turnstile, in
Holburne, London. Frank.

* "Historia Inquisitionis; cui subjungitur Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanæ, ab A. C. 1307 ad 1323. Amst. 1692," folio; but is not to be at all relied on for correctness: See Notes to the Life of St. Dominic by Butler. Liv. SS. Aug. 4th. in vol. viii.

† Richard Kidder, D. D.

Oates, 28 *Nov.* 1692.

* * * * *

I must beg you to send again for Mr. Churchill, and let him write down from you these names,— Ashby, Newton, Sommers, Popple, Le Clerc, Furley, Wright, Freke, and Formin, [and Treby and Ker. These two last if you think fit, for I am in some doubt whether it be prudent or noe,*] but to none of them as from me. To yourself more than one if you please. Hither two to be sent. Bid him forthwith bring in all the remainder of the copy to you. And let him send me hither the History of the Air † compleat, that I may see it before it be published.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 9° *Dec.* 1692.

I must beg you the first time you see my Lord Bellamont with my humble service to assure his Lordship that his commands will in all cases have that weight and authority with me as to dispose of

* The words between crotchets are scratched through with a pen.

† See hereafter, p. 71.

all the power I have for his service. That therefor to enable me to serve him on the present occasion, I desire his Lordship to send me Mr. Stanley's name and qualifications, and the place he is now in the Court, and whatever he thinks may recommend him to my Lord P——. For this is an inviolable rule which I always doe and shall observe in recommending any person, that I say what I know myself of them, and whatever is beyond my knowledg I always tell upon whose report and credit it is that I say it, soe that I shall be sure to vouch my Lord Bellamont's testimony, which cannot but be better than mine for a person whom I am soe litle acquainted with, as I have the honour to be with Mr. Stanly.

When the imprest role comes to your hand pray be sure before you doe anything else to get a perfect account of the forme of the oath, though I am apt to thinke it is such as I told you.

People generally thinke that if one has an interest any where one may use it as one pleases; whereas I thinke one has it and preserves it only by a fair and cautious use of it. If my Lord B. would reflect upon what I have said, and my way

of proceeding, which I never doe nor shall vary from, he would see it would be of noe great advantage to the businesse to send his recommendation of the Gentleman to my Lord P—— round about by my hand, and therefor if you can put him off from sending me on soe silly an errand, you may minde him that I used the same method and measures in recommending Mr. La Treille to Sir James Rushout, and that you know I will not, nor can an honest man vary from it.

I am, dear Sir, yours,

J. L.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 11 *Jan.* [1694].

I hope this aireing of y^r^ son these holydays in the country, will be convenient for his health, and noe prejudice to his learning. He was wellcome to every body here, and particularly to me; and I am glad to finde him such a proficient in the Latin, from w^ch^ I conclude that in a litle time now he will be master of that tongue. But schools I see still are schools, and make school-boys. I say this to

make y^{u} observe whether it be not to be apprehended that the main benefit of a danceing master will be lost, though he dance constantly two or three times a weeke, if those who ought to have the constant care of him in every part doe not looke after and minde his postures, cariage, and motions, when he is out of the danceing master's hands, for without that the steps and figures of dances I thinke of noe value.

* * * *

I wish y^{u} and yours a happy year, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

DEAR SIR, *London*, 30 *June*, 94.

Y^{rs} of the 26th brought me the welcome news of y^{r} safe arivall with y^{r} family at Ivychurch. I hope the rest y^{u} take there will cary y^{u} out easily all of y^{u} the remainder of y^{r} journey.

Tuesday last I went to see our friend J. F.; upon discourse with him he told me he had sub-

scribed £300, which made me subscribe £500 ; and soe that matter stands : last night the subscriptions amounted to £1,100,000, and to night I suppose they are all full. Mr. Freke talks of going out of town Monday, and I shall goe Tuesday. The commission and charter are now printed at large; I shall leave them with Clarke the taylor, to be sent y^{u}. I have received my £64 out of the Exchequer.

There is no news of any action in Flanders, or from the fleet; but a buz of peace, I know not how grounded.

Thursday last my Lord Keeper,* whom I met by chance in the Gallery going to the Councill, did me the honour to enquire about my stay, expressed great desire to speake with me before I went out of town, and asked (for y^{u} know his civility) whether he might send to me when he found leizure time.

My most humble service to Madam.

I am, dear S^{r},

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. Locke.

* Sir John Sommers, made Lord Chancellor and a Peer in 1697.

DEARE SIR, *Oates*, 25º *March*, 96.

* * * * *

I am very glad the designe of fixing a rate on guineas, espetialy at 25*s.* was defeated. The thing I looke on to be ill in its self, and worse in the intention. The subscribers will not now be able to put off their guineas at an high rate, to the cost of the government, nor the raisers I hope be able to compasse their soe long laborrd designe of raiseing the denomination of our coin.* Did I not see soe ready a motion towards both of them, espetialy the latter, I could scarce imagin y^t^ any English man could harbour a thought soe destructive to his country as I apprehend these to be. But what may one not believe of English men when there are those found amongst them that would favour a French invasion?

Is there no hopes to put a totall end to cliping and coining. Methinks the present ferment should

* In a subsequent letter to Mr. Clarke, dated "Oates, 24 Feb. 98-9," Mr. Locke says: "I am glad there is a stop at last put to the losse of the kingdom by the high rate of guineas."

raise some vigor, and put a stop to y^{t} great and surely destructive evill.

Deare Sir,

Y^{r} most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

DEAR COL: *Oates*, 24 *Apr.* 96.

I see by the temper the country is in (and I doubt not but there are those who will blow the coal) that, if London doe not set them good example, the act will be broken through, and clipping will be continued upon us. The trade I am sure goes on as brisk as ever; a company was lately taken at or about Ware. Somebody ready as soon as the day comes to arrest a goldsmith that refused to pay money according to the law would spoil the trick, espetialy if severall of them were made examples. If clipped money once get but currency in London amongst those blades but for the first weeke after the 4th of May, I looke upon it as irretrievable; but, if it be stopd there, the rest of the kingdom will fall into it, espetialy if receiving clipt money by weight can be introduced. These

are my thoughts, w^ch I trouble those with who I know are able to make use of them, if they may be of any. Duty and service respectively from all here. I am, dear Col.

Y^r most affectionate and faithfull servant,

J. LOCKE.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 7^o *May*, 98.

My Lady Masham has said something to me concerning my wife.* Since she has been here she has been very reserved; if it be her usual temper 'tis well; if it be present thoughtfulness 'tis worth y^r consideration how I shall carry myself to her. You must instruct me, for I love her, and y^u know I am at y^r disposal to serve y^u. She tels me she thinks Mrs. Clarke mends, I am very glad to hear it.

* Apparently a little girl of Mr. Clarke's. In his letter of 23 Aug. 1700, Mr. Locke says: "Lady Masham desired me to invite *you and my wife* down hither."

DEAR SIR, *Matching Tre*, 23 *Aug.* 1700.

* * * * *

I know noething soe likely to produce quiet sleep as rideing about gently in the air for many hours every day. If y^r^ mind can be brought to contribute a little its part to the laying aside troublesome ideas, I could hope this might doe much. This may be a farther inducem^t^ for y^r^ comeing hither, for I am on horseback every day. Pray return my thanks to my wife for her letter.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 11 *Nov.* 1700.

The very day I writ to y^u^ last in confidence that my soar leg was as good as well, my other before night began to be out of order: and between the one and the other of them I am not yet free from pain and trouble; but I hope I shall in a little time get over it. In the meane time I have one inconvenience now the cold weather comes in,

which, if my legs should remain in the state they are, would make me very uneasy. You know that I have but one way to keep my feet warm, that are apt to be without a fire icy cold. But now, if I approach the fire, the only remedy for my cold feet, the soars y^{t} yet remain on my legs, soon as they feel any warmth from the fire, doe soe burn and shoot, that the pain is intolerable. This obliges me to spend a great part of my time in bed, a way of liveing I doe not much like. Though when I consider well I think I ought to be content that I am at all amongst the living. 'Tis not the spleen that suggests this thought: but the news I heare this post, that my old friend Mr. Hodges is dead. He, Dr. Thomas, and I, were intimate in our younger days in the University; they two are gon, and who could have thought that I, much the weakest and most unlikely of the three, should have outlived them! *

* Many instances might be adduced of the weakest of a set of youthful contemporaries living to enjoy the longest and healthiest old age; and it is explained on the principle that weakly persons, being aware of their infirmity, eat less, and are guilty of less excess in general than those who have stronger constitutions.

DEAR SIR, *Oates*, 30 *Nov.* 02.

There will be, I doubt not, holydays of some kind or other for you at Christmas; and then what should hinder you to take a little air. A few days spent here then, I think would doe y^u^ noe harm, and I am sure would oblige more than one here. Doe not blame me if I desire to be happy once more in your company. I have been little better than out of the world these last twelve months by a deafness that in great measure shuts me out of conversation. I thank God my hearing is now restored ag^n^, and it is in y^r^ power to make me yet more sensible of that blessing. It would be folly in me to count upon an other Christmas: come then and let me enjoy y^u^ this. My Lady, who gives y^u^ her service, joyns with me in this request, and says, that in this uncertain world she knows noe thing so desirable as the conversation of friends. And therefore she nor I are not to be blamed if we take care to secure y^rs^ early, that noe thing may fall between to rob us of our hopes.

Dear Sir,

Y^r^ most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

LETTERS OF MR. LOCKE

TO

SIR HANS SLOANE.

SIR, *Oates, 2 Dec.* 99.

Since y^u^ command me I here send y^u^ what I proposed above a twelvemonth since for the reforming of our year, before the addition of an other day increase the error, and make us, if we go on in our old way, differ the next year eleven days from those who have a more rectified calendar. The remedie w^ch^ I offer is that the intercalar day should be omitted the next year, and soe the ten next leap years following, by w^ch^ easy way we should in forty-four years insensibly return to the new stile. This I call an easy way, because it would be without any prejudice or disturbance to any one's civill rights, w^ch^ by the loping off of ten or eleven days at once in any one year might perhaps receive in-

convenience, the only objection that ever I heard made against rectifying our account. I need not say any thing to y^u^ how inexcusable it is in soe learned an age as this, and in a country wherein astronomie is caried to a higher pitch than ever it was in the world, an error of this kinde should be suffered to goe on, an error w^ch^ every body sees and ownes to have growing inconveniences in it. I shall rather choose to wish that, when this information is made, the begining of the year with us might be reduced from 25th of March to the first of January, that we might herein agree with our neigbours and the rest of the Christian world.

Now I am writing, give me leave to say one word more, though on a subject very different. The storys I have heard of the performance of the strong man now in London, would be beyond belief were there not soe many witnesses of it. I think they deserve to be communicated to the present age and recorded to posterity. And therefor I think y^u^ cannot omit to give him a place in y^r^ Transactions. His country, age, stature, bignesse, make, weight, and then the several proofs he has given of his strength, w^ch^ may be a subject of

speculation and inquiry to the philosophical world.

I took the liberty to send y^{u} just before I left town the last edition of my Essay. I doe not intend y^{u} shall have it gratis. There are two new chapters in it, one of the Association of Ideas, and an other of Enthusiasm; these two I expect y^{u} should read and give me y^{r} opinion frankly upon. Though I have made other large additions, yet it would be to make you pay too dear to expect you should be at the taske to find them out and read them. Y^{u} will doe very friendly by me if you forgive my wasting your time on those two chapters.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and faithfull servant,

J. Locke.

By what y^{u} will finde in Mons^{r} Bernard's Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, mois du Mai, article 9, y^{u} will see y^{t} what y^{u} demanded of me concerning the reforming our account, was scarce worth your askeing; since it is there in print already; somebody, it seems, that had heard me

talke it, having sent an account of it into Holland.

Sir H. Sloane, at his house
at the end of Southampton Street,
joining to Southampton Square,
London.

Sr, *Oates, 27 Dec.* 1700.

It is not fit I let the year goe out before I return you my thanks for the many favours I have received from yu in it, particularly for the Philosophical Transactions, whereof those of July and August came but lately to my hands. Those of April, May, and June, I thank yu for as well as the rest, although I have them not yet, wch I impute to the forgetfulnesse of Mr. Churchil's men, who have with care laid them aside for me, and then I shall have them when I send for them, and therefor pray receive my thanks for them all. And give me leave to owne to yu, that I am ashamd to be soe much inrichd by you in philosophical knowledg without furnishing any thing to yr collections. I came into the country with a designe of imploying

some part of my leisure in looking over some papers I have, with an intention to offer y^{u} anything I should finde in them that I might presume y^{u} would think worthy to appear amongst those observations w^{ch} y^{u} continue to oblige the world with. But soar legs that seized on me soon after my comeing hither, and that have ever since made me spend the greatest part of my time in bed, have kept me from that and several other things I proposed to myself. I thank God my legs are now pretty well ag^{n}, but my old evill of my breast (as is to be expected from every year's increase of age) sits heavier upon me than it was wont to doe formerly in country air. I have read physick enough to think it not at all strange y^{t} it should doe soe, and therefor am not startled at it. The tenement must at some time or other fall to dust, and mine had held out beyond expectacõn. Whilst I stay here I would be willing to doe y^{t} little that I can; and, if I have an oportunity, make some acknowledgm^{t} to y^{u}. I have a register of the weather for the ten years past, of the same kinde with those y^{u} may remember of mine publishd in Mr. Boyle's History of the Air, p. 104, &c. I know not whe-

ther it will be fit to clog y^r^ Transactions with such things as those. Be you judg of this. I know that I did not keep this register for my own sake alone,* and that, if I had any thing of more value than this I should not refuse it y^u^, if y^u^ thought it worth the haveing.

A diabetes is a disease soe little frequent that y^u^ will not think it strange that I should aske whether y^u^ in y^r^ great practise ever met with it. Y^u^ will doe me the favour to tell me the pathognomonick signes of it, and if y^u^ have cured it or known it, and y^u^ will obleige me in instructing me in the methode. I wish y^u^ a merry Christmas and an happy new year, and am, S^r^,

Y^r^ most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

* It is, however, appositely remarked in the Biographia Britannica, that Locke "had an instinctive cause for making choice of this branch of Natural Philosophy, in the particular infirmity of his constitution, which was asthmatic; and it is observable that these histories have since been made excellent use of, towards discovering the Qualities of the Air by another gentleman (Dr. John Arbuthnot, in 1731), who laboured also under the like constitutional disorder."

Sr, *Oates*, 14 *July*, 01.

The inclosed paper I caried to town with me when I was lately there, on purpose to put into yr hands to print it or otherwise as yu should think fit. It was writ by Mr. Benjamin Furley of Rotterdam, to his son here in England, and by him communicated to me. It is a remarkable story, and he yt writes it is a man of yt credit that yu may depend on it to be true. Whether it be of ye kind yu put into the Philosophical Transactions yu know best. Yonge Mr. Furley is now at Mr. Joseph Wright's, a merchand liveing near Londonstone in Canon street, if yu desire any further information concerning the boy.

I am sorry I came not home early enough to my lodging when yu did me the honour to call there, and stay some time in expectacõn of me. I would willingly have had a little more conversation with yu whilst I was in town. My little stay kept me in a perpetuall hurry whilst I was there. I hope to make my self reparation by a speedy return thither, and a longer aboad there, if my lungs

will consent; and then I promise my self a fuller enjoym^{t} of y^{r} company. I am, S^{r},

Y^{r} most humble and obedient servant,

J. LOCKE.

For Dr. Sloane, at his house in Bloomsbury Square, London.

S^{r}, *Oates, 24 Feb.* 0$\frac{3}{4}$.

I should not have ben so long indebted to y^{u} for a letter without returning y^{u} an answer, were I not through lazyness or indisposition, call it w^{ch} y^{u} please, grown in that respect perfectly a bankrupt. And yet, had y^{u} staid but some few days longer, I had prevented y^{u}, and made an offer at redeeming my credit with y^{u}. The particular esteem I have for y^{u}, and the obligations I have to y^{u}, made me resolve some time since to send y^{u} the continuation of my Register of the Air; wherein there was one obstacle to be got over. Mr. Churchil printed the former part of it in Mr. Boyle's General History of the Air, w^{ch} he told me some time since he intended to publish anew with additions, and there-

upon I promised him ye remainder of my Register to be added to what he has already printed. But seeing his other additions not ready, and concluding mine, if there be any use of it, will be lost if not published in my life time, I have prevailed with him to consent to give the remainder of my Register to yu to be published in the Philosophical Transactions, upon condition ye bookseller, who prints the Transactions, will acknowledg the right of the Register to be in him, so yt he may print it when he will. The matter standing thus, and believeing this trifle of mine would not be wholly unacceptable to yu, I had got one year transcribed before I received yrs of the 17th instant, with an intention to send it yu very speedily. Thus much to alleviate my fault, and to convince yu that, though I did not write to yu, yet I did not wholly forget yu.

To come now to the businesse of yr letter, I can onely say to yu in short that, wherever the mistake is, Richerius de Belevel about the Montpelier Garden, is a book that I never had, nor to my knowledg never saw in my life. If I had it yu might command it, as any other book in my study, not

onely for a week but as long a time as y^{u} had occasion to use it. I return y^{u} my thanks for the Transactions, w^{ch} from time to time I receive from y^{u}. I wish there was any thing wherein I could serve you here. I am, S^{r},

Y^{r} most humble and most obedient servant,

J. LOCKE.

For Dr. Sloane, at his house near Southampton House in Bloomsbury Square, London.

By a letter, dated 15 Mar. 170$\frac{3}{4}$, it appears that Mr. Locke sent Sir Hans Sloane his Register for the year 1692, which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and the manuscript is preserved in the same volume as the letters which have been here introduced. This was perhaps the first of numerous Registers of the weather which followed it, and became common in the course of the 18th century. There is now a Register of the weather for every day kept in the Forster family of Walthamstow, from 1767 to 1829 inclusive.

LETTERS

OF

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

ALGERNON SYDNEY

TO

MR. BENJAMIN FURLEY.

Leicester House, Nov. 29, 1677.

You will be surprised perhaps, my deare friend, to see a letter of mine dated from hence, but not at all to finde that very soone after my arrivall I enquired of you, and was very glad to heare you weare very well in boddy and estate, not doubting but you are farre better in that which is much more important then both.

I can give you noe other account of my returne, then that my desire of being and rendering summe service unto my old father, perswaded me to ask leave to comme over, and, living in a world subiect to all manner of changes, easily receaved a grant of that which I could not formerly have ob-

tained; but, my father being dead within six weekes after my arrivall,* I have noe other businesse heare then to cleare somme small contests that are growne between one of my brothers and me concerning that which he hath left me, and, if it please God to give successe unto my endeavours in composing them, I shall have nothing relating unto this world soe much at heart, as the desire of retiring from hence, without any thought of ever returning, and carrying with me that which may be sufficient to purchase a convenient habitation in Gascony, not farre from Bourdeaux, where I may in quiet finish thoes dayes that God hath appointed for me. That I may receave your advice and assistance in compassing this, it is good that I let you knowe my father hath left me a considerable summe of money, of which sume part is in ready coine, and more in such hands as I think will readily pay it, and my intention being to send it over seas as it comes in, that it or part of it may be more ready to employ in such a purchase as I hope to make, I would willingly know where it may be safe, and in the mean time yeald me a reasonable increase.

* Robert, the second Earl of Leicester, died Nov. 2, 1677.

I knowe few that understand such matters better than you doe, and none that I can trust soe much; wherefore I desire you to let me knowe your opinion of this matter, and particularly wheather the exchange from hence into Holland be now favourable unto me or not, and wheather I shall have more for my mony if I send it immediately to Paris or Bourdeaux, or sending it first to you, draw it to Paris when I shall have occasion to use it. You will oblige me, if you let me know your thoughts of this as soon as you can with convenience.

Your letters directed unto me at Leicester House will, I hope, be safely delivered unto

Your truly affec^e freind,

AL. SYDNEY.

Ben. Furley.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Jan. the* 3*d* [1677-8].

About the 25 of the last moneth I sent you three bills of exchange, for the summe of £100 sterling, and this day I send you the duplicates of them, and having therein mentioned the reasons that had principally perswaded me to take the course that for the present I doe intend, I hope they came safe into your hands, and have at this present [no] more to doe than to send you the duplicates of them, nor to say but that I am truly,

Your very affe[e] freind,

AL: SYDNEY.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Jan.* 29 [1677-8].

Yours of the 18 of this moneth, new stile, came not to my hands untill the 26 according to the old stile, which for a while had made me doubt the miscarriage of mine, wherein I had enclosed the letters of exchange; which being safe, all is well as to that point. The reasons that had perswaded me to think of passing the rest of my life in the

place mentioned unto you, I doe verily believe to be true, and how weaksoever man is, he doth not ordinarily runne into great mistakes, when he hath time and opportunity to examine the matter he is to judge of, and noe passion to sway him; and I am as sure I am exempted from the last, as I am that I have had sufficient leisure for the first. I heare, as well as other men, that which is sayd concerning the warre, and think it noe hard matter to learne as much as most other, or perhaps I may say, as any knowe, and yet truly I am noe ways able to give a judgement wheather wee shall have warre or not. True it is, that the king in his speech yesterday to the Parliament did speak of it as a thing not to be avoided, and yet from his demands for the carrying it on having been soe vast, that the nation (as is thought) can hardly beare the charge on the one side; and the discovery, what hath bin easily made, that the thing itself is not pleasing to the Parliament and people, as was believed, on the other; some that are thought to understande this businesse well enough, doe think that all will end in a good peace, or at the least a truce, that will in the end certainly produce it.

I am exceedingly pleased with the acquaintance you have given me occasion to begin with your friend, and will cultivate it as well as I can. I am

Your truly affe friend.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, April* 3-13 [1678].

I did not faile to let you knowe as I remember by the first post, after I had receaved the bills of exchange you sent me, that they weare comme safe unto my hands; but by what I learne from your friend and mine, William Pen, I finde my letter miscarried, and therefore am obliged againe to tell you that all goes well as to that point. I had the first bills, John Swinton had them accepted, and I presume they will be paid in due time, but I never had the second. I think I may have ocasion within this fortnight of sending you somme more mony, if you have any way of imploying it, and might make it tow or three thousand pounds between this and Midsummer, if I weare encouraged; but I confesse I cannot ground much as to the ways of imploying it, by any assurance I can gaine

of warre or peace, for I am as much in the dark as ever in as much as concerns that matter; but whereas the most important point, three moneths agoe, seemed to depend upon the resolutions that should be taken heare, I now incline to believe it will rather be determined in Holland; for, if true, as is heare reported, that the States seeme very averse to the continuance of the warre, either through the secret negociations with the French, antient and new iealousies of the tow Houses of Stewart and Nassau, or other reasons, soe as not to enter into the alliance lately made by Van Conningham, and to resolve upon peace, which if they doe, the rest of the Confederates must yield, and make it as well as they can; and, if you finde this to be the state of things in the place where you are, you may look upon peace as a thing certaine, and order your affaires accordingly; and the contrary if you finde the contrary; soe as my opinions must entirely depend upon these iffs, I cannot goe farther.

The Earl of Pembroke was yesterday tried for the death of Cony; six of the peeres found him guilty of murther, eighteen not guilty, and about

forty found him guilty of manslaughter, which sentence stands.*

Your Friends seem to have succeeded well the last weeke, before the Com^e^ of the House of Commons, as to being distinguished from Papists, and it is hoped that if the House sit long enough to perfect that businesse, they will finde wayes of exempting them from the penaltyes of the Lawes made against thoes that in no degree resemble them; never the lesse I finde many Parliament men very bitter upon them in private conversations, as I think without knowing why, and therefore perhaps the more I desire you to let me know by the first your opinion as to the present wayes of imploying mony, for my father hath left me somme at interest, which I call in, no wayes liking it, and if I live upon the maine stock, it will soone comme to nothing. You must also have a consideration for yourself, and I desire to knowe how you will have it. I am,

Your truly affec^e^ freind, AL. S.

* The sufferer was Nathaniel Cony, whom the Earl struck with his fist, and otherwise assaulted, on February 4th, and death ensued on the 10th. The Earl escaped punishment by pleading his privilege of Peerage; he died in 1683.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Aug.* 9-19 [1678].

That which hath fallen out of late at Nimeghen, is, as I presume, soe well understood by youe, that if you knowe we weare well enough confermed before hand to be confident it would be done, I need give you noe other reason for remitting noe mony at present, for the only advantage that was expected being that the exchange would fall, if there weare a warre, I could not but think that if the peace weare made, as I did believe it would be, the exchange would still rise soe as I could not have my mony back againe but with as much losse, soe as I had rather it should lye idle then send it upon such tearmes. The greatest businesses now in Europe depend upon your neighbours' resolutions; for if they adheare to the treaty signed, I am confident the peace will be general in this part of the world, still somme new troublesome heads start up to disturbe it, and noe man I thinke can expresse or conceave the troubles that will arise on all sides, if the contrary fall out. We that are heare, and quiet-minded men, hope the best, and doe not see what is likely to bring in the contrary;

but the world is governed in such a manner that the most unprobable things are thoes that often fall out, and wee can be sure of nothing but what wee doe already see.

I think in a few dayes to see our friend W[illiam] P[enn] in his owne house, and shortly after to return againe hither.

Pray doe not forget to buy me the best and warmest Indian gowne that you can finde, which I presume will be had at Amsterdam.

Perhaps you may at the same place heare of that spirate of cinamon that you sent me once into France, and I should be glad to have as much more now, if I could have that which is right and good, but I heare there is knavery in that businesse as well as in many others, and the way of sending the last with oile one the top was good to preserve it, but I never found a way soe to take it of, but it mixed with the spirate, and spoiled the tast, smell, and operation. I am,

Your most truly aff[e] friend,

A. S.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Jan.* 31 [1678-9].

I writ to you about three weekes since, desiring to knowe your opinion as to the disposing of the money you weare to receave by bills of exchange upon my account, but have not heard from you, which I hoped I might have done, most especially because I presume the first parcells are by this time payed, and you will think that reason soe good as not long to delay it. Gerard Roberts, whoe was to have payed me £297. 10*s.* the 16th of April last, hast dealt very vilely with me, and Will: Mead, and John Osgood, whoe have the mannagement of his businesse, not at all better, and to say the truth, I having foreborne to trouble him for my mony at Will: Penn's desire, as his freind, and a man of exceeding good repute, amongst thoes of his own profession, could not finde more nigling, shifting, cavilling, and, indeed, downright lying and knavery from the men of the worst repute in London, than I doe from all three of them, and particularly Mead and Osgood are much more inclinable to cast uniust reproaches upon Will: Pen, then to doe me the iustice he ad-

viseth, which, together with what is suspected of John Swinton, and hath fallen out with some others, will much impaire the credite those of your profession have hitherto had.

We are heare full of expectations of what the new Parliament will produce if it sits, but that is very uncertaine. It is generally thought, men will be chosen every where that are averse to the Court, but somme think thoes may comme in whoe are more favourable to nonconformists, but I doe not, seeing the same spirate still rules, that is as full of bitternesse towards them as ever. I am,

Your truly affe friend,

AL: SYDNEY.

Ben: Furley.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Feb.* 15-25 [1678-9].

I have confered with him that gave you the advice which he thought might be usefull unto you in your commerce, and though I believe neither he nor any one I knowe, as things stand, can speake positively of thoes matters, I believe he had well

considered what he sayd unto you, and I think the obiection you make upon the paper you had seene, which seemes to prove the contrary, appears to be of more strength then it is, not only by reason of the bungling and dissimulation that is too much in fashion, but that men when they finde themselves unadvisedly engaged in delivering their opinions when they weare confident they would not be taken, doe often finde it more easy and safe to persist in the same, adding conditions which they believe cannot be performed, then to renounce them; and besides, you know their are upon the Exchange men of many parties, interests, and principles, soe as one may prevaile one day, and another the next.

Your friend brought me the book which I read with very great satisfaction, and thought it a kinde of English Latine; there are in my opinion very many excellent things in it, and I very much approve of almost all I have seene in it.

A friend of mine having a littell of my mony in his hand, and noe present ocasion of imploying it, hath lately sent me a parcell of French wines, and twenty pieces of brandy, which I am told would be

worth above fifty pounds the tunne in a moneth, if we should have a warre, but not knowing what will be the end of the business now in agitation, I chose rather to take forty pounds a tunne yesterday, then to expect a better market, which may very well happen, but I had noe minde to venture it.

I hear you have a huge proportion of corne in your hands, and as farre as I can guesse, unlesse you have a probability of being farther supplied from the Balticke, things can hardly goe soe as to hinder you from gaining much by keeping it, for I think none can comme from England or Germany, soe as if there be a warre the advantage must needs be very great, and though a peace should be concluded, soe many great townes in the United Provinces and Flanders that must be supplied from thence, will consume soe much as will to a great degree raise the price.

A friend of mine, seeing the uncertainty of things, is desirous to place four or five thousand pounds beyond seas, against he may have occasion to use it; and soe it may be sure and ready at somme moneths warning, he would be content with

a moderate profite. John Swinton proposeth the imploying of it in exchange, but I desire to knowe your opinion upon that point. I am,

Your truly affe freind.

If I learne any thing I think assured as to the matter you inquired after, I will not faile to give your friend the spediest notice that I can.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Mar.* 9 [1678-9].

I am in somme hast and have time only to tell you I have receaved the bills of exchange, and they are accepted. The rates weare sommewhat otherwise than heare wee thought the exchange had bin, and if you found somme extraordinary momentary accident, it might have bin kept untill another post, or sent by the wayes of Hamburgh or Paris, as I told you. Ther is a small remainder of account that may be sent, with that which you are to receave upon the tou bills I know you endorsed, which I did forget when I sent you the first. I am,

B. Furley. Your truly affe friend.*

* This Letter is thus indorsed (probably by Mr. Furley): "This Letter was writ with the own hand of that Hon'ble patriot Colonel Algernon Sydney, who was made a sacrifice for his country by Charles II. and his mercenary Ld. Chief Justice Jeffreyes."

DEARE FRIEND, *London, March* 23 [1678-9].

I am not like your other correspondents; soe busy in hunting after mony that I could not have leisure to write to you of other matters, but the truth is, letters are soe often opened, that noe man in his senses will write any thing that is not fit for the publike view, and that which is soe, every man sees in the publike papers. I make noe doubt but the proceedings of this Parl[t] amaze all people abroad, and believe every day will produce sommething of new, beyond what you have heard. Yesterday, the Lords appointed the Black Rod to take the Earle of Danby into custody, whoe immediately went to his lodgings at Whitehall, to seeke him, but found him not, and I believe he will think it a point of prudence not to appeare. The King's pardon is found defective in every point, but though all the forms had bin observed, the House of Commons doth not acknowledge that it could exempt one impeached by them from being brought to iustice. It is said, he shall be attainted if he fly.

I believe the next work will be concerning Lau-

derdale, and that never men weare less pitied in their fall then they will be.

The business of G. Roberts is certainly naught in all extremity, and the reputation Mead and Osgood had in your Society will make it prove of more preiudice unto the whole, then the gaine they make can be of advantage unto themselves. All that I can now expect is, by W. Penne his interposition to get my mony with the losse of three or four score pounds, and to be paid I knowe not when.

Yesterday Mr. Foot met me, and desired when I writ next unto you, to minde you of the book, which as was hoped might have been printed before this time. I see he and others are of opinion it might now be done heare, the Act for restraining the presse being expired, and the care he would take to oversee the presse might abate the expence, and thinks the paper that was bought may be put off with littell or noe losse. I am,

Your truly affe freind,

AL: SYDNEY.

London, May 14 [1679].

The mares that I desired of you weare for the Earle of Essex, and he still desires them if you have a friend that will be carefull in having them well chosen. I confesse myselfe surprised to heare your friend speaks of 800 gilders for each of them, for I have had as good as I think the country ever produced, which did not cost above so much the pair; neverthelesse, I do not intend to stint you in the price. He desires to have thoes that are very fine and good. I make noe doubt but you will choose a man that shall doe it faithfully, and when it is done, you may draw a bill of exchange upon me for the mony. I doe not finde that things goe soe ill as is thought; though the intention may be as ill as can be imagined.

Wee presume the Parliament on Monday will be again prorogued untill the beginning of July.

The Court is at Windsor, and the Kinge comes hither only once a weeke to be at Councill; for that end he was heare one Wensday, and, returning in the evening to Windsor, he was in the

night taken with a great shivering, which in a jealous time gave many various thoughts, but it is believed onely to be an aigue, and the fit went off yesterday by noone. I am,

Your truly affe freind.

I desire to have the mares as soone as may be, to have them covered this yeare.

B. Furley.

DEARE FRIEND, *London, Oct.* 13-23 [1679].

The three mares arrived at London on Wensday, and weare brought hither yesterday. Though they had bin twelve or fourteen dayes at sea, and are very weary and weake, I make noe doubt but that will be soone recovered, and I make nothing at all of it; but I could have wished theare had bin a little more care taken in choosing them, for they are indeed very ordinary ones, and I have seen better rendered at London, without any charge at all, at forty pounds the paire. It is not to much purpose to bid me stay till they are in flesh before I give my judgment, for the beauty consists prin-

cipally in their heads and necks, which is best seene when they are leanest. I know not what will be accounted for their passage, but such as are versid in those matters say it had bin good as to have expressed in the bill of lading, the summe that was to have bin given.

We are heare in the strangest confusion that I ever remember to have seene in English businesse. Ther never was more intrigues, and lesse truth. The King hath bin extreamly pressed to send away the Duke, but noe resolution is yet taken. The approaching Sessions of Parliament is like to be very turbulent, and none lesse than a Prophet can tell what will be the issue of it. Things are so entangled, that liberty of language is almost lost; and noe man knowes how to speake of any thing, least he that is spoken unto may be of a party contrary unto him, and that endeavours to overthrow what he would set up. This shews wee are in the dark, perhaps a few dayes may give us light. I am,

Your truely affe friend.

LETTERS

OF

ANTHONY

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

AUTHOR OF "THE CHARACTERISTICS."

LETTERS

OF

ANTHONY EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

TO

MR. FURLEY AND OTHERS.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *London, June y^e* 17, 1691.

This I think will be the last trouble I shall give you; my brother being to come from Swisserland where he has been, into Holland; att which time Mr. Denoun his governor (and whome you knew formerly with mee), will call upon you for this letter, which I onely desire you to let bee kept till that time to be then deliver'd to him when he is arrived; I hope about that time to have the happiness of seeing you, for I intend to come over (tho' very privately) myself, and to make some stay. Till then I rest satisfied to tell you thus, in

few words, that I am with particular esteem y^r^ obliged and sincere friend,

A. ASHLEY.

I intreat you, when you have received this, to acquaint me with itt, either by yourself, or by Mr. Popple, or Mr. Locke, if you chance to write to either of them in any little time, that I may be satisfied that this has not miscarried.

TO MR. HENRY WILKINSON.*

WILKINSON, *Chelsea, May* 20, 1700.

I received both thine, and the last with an acc^t^ of the hardships thou lyest under because of the different hands and different methods of acc^ts^ that are taught.

These are difficulties w^ch^ by the help of God and thy own diligence thou mayest easily and soon overcome.

* Mr. Henry Wilkinson was a young gentleman educated at Lord Shaftesbury's expence, and by him placed in Mr. Furley's compting house; he afterwards lived with a wine merchant at Rotterdam, and, upon his death, married the widow, and carried on the business.

That w^ch I would chiefly know from thee is, if thou find'st the place to be sober, and that thou canst serve God, and hast encouragement and example to do thy duty to him, and to fit thyself for thy calling and employment in the world.

I am sorry there is so much English spoke; for thou wilt learn the French and Dutch so much the slower. But do thou what thou canst to avoid that company which is of least profitt to thee, and perhaps may do thee most harm, for the English that I have known abroad have always been the most debauched of the place. Pray God keep thee; all here are well, and remember thee kindly. See that thou dost well and deservest their remembrance, and my charity to thee, as thy kind friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles, Aug^t* 5, 1700.

I delayed writing in answer to yours of y^e 24th past, till I could hear from Mr. Wilkinson's father in law, whome I have now heard from, and he has writ to you (he tells me) that he will be ready to

do all on his part for binding his son in law, and will be bound himself for his fidelity, &c. which you may be sure I will also; but I desire this as a sort of obligation upon them; so that I would have you take this of him for my sake, and you shall have my security and bond for the £500 if required. I bid the father in law (one Mr. Leech) apply to Mr. Wright, your correspondent in town; and being ignorant myself of the form of binding one, if you will send instructions thither for him, and inform me what is to be my part, I will sign the letter of attorney and bond as is requisite.

The news of the Duke of Gloster's* death and Princess's illness, has made a great ferment amongst us, and those that are concern'd for monarchy are in perplexity about a successor, fearing the crown should fall again soon into the people's hands; who they think will hardly let it go out again. We hear at the same time that the same partizans of monarchy and government in one, are labouring at any rate to get a successor in your country. I would fain hear from you and our friends w^{t} y^{r} thoughts are about this, that we here

* William, son of the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen.

may know what measure to take. Pray write me as soon as possible about this, and if you can get any occasion by a private hand, write me more largely and plainly about it; tho', with a little caution, one may write about any thing by the post, only 'tis best not to put a name to it, for we know one another's hands; and, tho' others may know them, yet it is not the same advantage to them as when they have the name.

I have sent to Aunsham Churchill to send you two Harringtons * for my two friends Mr. Van Tweede and Mr. Verburg, to whome, with the rest of my good friends, I beg my kind remembrances and most humble service; wishing you and your family all health and prosperity, I remain your sincere friend and servant.

I hope the lad Wilkinson behaves himself well, and so as to deserve your kindness to him. I am satisfied that all his correspondencyes hitherto are innocent (for I look'd into the business of that odd letter, and find it is only a peece of foolishness from

* The Works of James Harrington, the author of Oceana, and a celebrated political writer, were published this year in folio, edited by Toland.

some of his mother's acquaintances), and it is highly reasonable he should hereafter have no correspondance but what you know of and inspect. I received a line from the lad this post (pray tell him), by which I know you are all well.

TO MR. WILKINSON.

HARRY, *St. Giles, Sep.* 26, 1700.

I have wayted a while before I would write to you, expecting to hear concerning you, and your behaviour; and I thank God I hear well. I am also glad to hear from you yourself of Mr. Furley's and Mrs. Furley's kind usage of you. I pray God you may still continue to deserve it; w^ch^ I doubt not but you will do, if you continue to be truly thankfull and gratefull (as you express yourself in your letter) both to them, and above all to Almighty God, whose providence has engaged so many persons in your behalf, and to supply the want of other friends and fortune, in those hard circumstances w^ch^ you were born to. I pray God continue in you the sense of this; that by your diligence in y^r^ calling, by your duty and obedience

to your master and superiors, and by meekness, and humility, and goodness, such as ought to be in every one y^t^ is truly a Christian, you may be acceptable to God, and have favour with those you serve, and with all that know you; which will be to the great satisfaction of him who is your kind benefactor and hearty welwisher and friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

All here are well, and rejoice to hear deservingly and well of you. Pray let me hear from you every fortnight as I ordered you; and write to me of your progress, and what occurs to you or is remarkable. I have wrote to Mr. Furley by this post.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles, Nov. y^e^ 15th*, 1700.

I have more than one of yours to answer, but the desire of answering them well (particularly as to some questions of what our Parlem^t^ might do with respect to certain affaires abroad) has made me delay writing all this while y^t^ we were kept in suspence and in continual allarm about a new Parlem^t^,

which now is at an end, it being determin'd that the old should sitt.

'Till this was determin'd, it was alltogether impossible to make any judgment what was likely to be the result: for a new Parlem^{t} might have taken new measures; but the time is now coming y^{t} Parlements will be no more under the influence of courts as formerly, so that, be it what Parlem^{t} it will, their councills will be the same, only this one Parlem^{t}, had it been dissolved, might have created some doubt; but the blow is over, and a greater blow abroad, the death of the King of Spain, and what has follow'd, has made this not to light upon us, a dissolution being on several accounts not so adviseable since this conjuncture.

But to explain myself the better about this of Parlem^{ts}, and why this dissolution might have been so great a blow, I will give you these reasons, on which, if my own judgm^{t} be good, you may yourself form a judgment, and give light to others of our friends.

Two things made this to be a crisis in our Parlementary concerns, and a guiding measure as to future councills; the one was, that this Parlem^{t} last

sessions began the great stroak towards the liberty of Parlem^ts^ and a total reform, by lopping off at once one considerable member of the court body, viz. the Excise Office and their dependants, from the Parlem^t^ or any concern in parlementary elections or affaires: and this must immediatly (if not check'd in the beginning) be carryed through, and by parity of reason and nature of the thing extend itself to the thorough purgation of the Parlem^t^, and reducing it solely and wholly to the country bottom.

The second cause was this. The ending of last sessions was, on the Court side, a beginning with a Tory ministry, and an essay made of this kind by first throwing out the Chancellour* and afterwards others. Now since this Lord Godolphin, now brought into the Treasury, Lord Rochester, and the rest of that party, have been esteemed the undertakers and to be the managers in a new Parlem^t^ chosen by their interest, when all things were first put into their hands, and pledges given to the church party such as were desir'd. Now here had been the great danger of this turn, which I thank God we have escaped. The Whiggs, you know,

* Lord Sommers.

have for several years, and in these last Parlemtˢ especially, been shamefull in their over great condescensions to the Court, and by this have lost their interest much in the countrye. Now had the King suddenly deserted them, and made them a sacrifice to the now popular Toryes, who by acting the part of patriots have got great repute; and the country not seeing their danger, and the Toryes being restored to what they naturally belong to, a high and absolute court and church interest, the mark had been taken off, and they being in possession of the Parlement might have unravelled the clew back again, and modell'd all things to their own purpose. What they might have done farther as to our succession here at home, so as to have wholly brought us back again to where we were before the Revolution, this I must leave you to guess, but will not venture to mention in a letter. But now this design has miscarried all is wors for the court than ever it was, and must go better on the side of the country; nor will this blow be feared hereafter, for the Parlemᵗ being of necessity to be dissolved, by the triennial law, after this next sessions, the Whigg party who have had fair warn-

ing, and see they were designed a sacrifice, and see also even at this time many of their party sacrificed for their complyance with the court, will be careful of their behaviour in this next great probationary sessions, so that they may approve themselves to their countrye, and wash off the court stain. The Toryes on the other hand, despairing of a thorough and absolute turn of affaires to their side, which they have missed by missing this blow, will be able to gain but a slender interest for the court in this Parlem^{t}, and will most of them carry on the face of tollerable patriots, and thus you may judge how advantageously matters are likely to go on the side of the country, the ill accident in affaires abroad having been the occasion of this good at home. Therefore, in return of this perticular account from me of our home affaires, do you instruct me of affaires abroad, that I may instruct others against Parlem^{t} time, y^{t} we here may act the best and wisest in this difficult season, for the safety of the protestant religion and common liberty. I shall be in town at the Parlem^{ts} sitting, but not sooner: my stay being of some use here, where I have labour'd very hard, and been conti-

nually employ'd on the expected dissolution, which would have been so great a struggle in the countrye. I long to hear from you of affaires abroad, and wishing you and yours all prosperity, remain

Yr known friend.

MR. FURLEY, *December* 16*th*, 1700.

The enclosed, which was design'd for Mr. V. T. whose I receiv'd in yours, I send you imperfect rather than return nothing this post, that I am in so great hast. If you think I have writt any thing intelligible you will read it to him, for it will be legible perhaps to you, who are used to my worst hand.

However I intreat you either with it or without it to present my most humble service to him, with particular thanks for his letter, and accept at the same time of hearty service towards you and yrs of your faithfull friend.

I neither date this nor the enclosed from any place, but you may know I am still in the west, and must be for a while. I begg my sincere respects and service to Mynheer P. S. and rest of friends.

MR. FURLEY, *St. G. Jan. y^e* 11*th*, 1700-1.

I received both y^rs, that which gives me notice of the receipt of mine and the enclosed, and that which came by Mr. Crellis. Mr. Awnsham Churchill the other day mentioned to me your not having heard from me lately, which has made me in pain least that enclos'd should have been intercepted: which now I am glad to hear came safe. Wee are now in the midst of our elections, of which the West of England having much the greatest share, and I being here plac'd with my fortune and all my interest, you may imagine I am not a little sollicitouse at this time of danger, having explaind to you the extreamity of our affaires by these rash councills for a dissolution at this conjuncture, which I am satisfyed the King ere this is fully convinced was a wrong measure, enough to ruine us all. But by the sound labours of our friends I am in hopes things are so well ballanced that a good Parlem^t will be chosen, even under all disadvantages, which can hardly ever happen again. So that since I now write you some hopes after having so dreaded this stroke, you may for the future hope

well with me for England, since, escaping this Parlem^t, it will have little to fear hereafter, if we can be supported now at this instant while the Parlem^t is meeting, and till they have time to deliberate for our common safety. Therefore pray God send you courage and united councills abroad, so as not to yield to anything that may ruine the common cause before you see what the Parlem^t of England produces, which I hope will be well; since the whole force of the new Tory Ministry will not, I hope, be able to create a Tory Parlement; tho' it will come very near. So that, if the Parlem^t be as I judg it likely to be, (and as you shall hear further from me, as the elections proceed,) the advantages we shall reap from hence will be these. The King making use of his new Ministry to propose money will save our party the load of this, and the odium either of a war or any such measures as are necessary for our common preservation. Or, if on the other side he finds his Ministry resty, he will by that discover their treachery, and must be forc'd to put things intirely into other hands, which I am in hopes this Parlement will have strength enough to bear him out in: tho' at the same time there will be

such a ballance the other way, that it will be impossible for things to be carried furiously a court way by the Whigg party, which was once our danger, but can never be again, their experience having taught them better, since this sacrifice made of them, after their court services. If I had ever so much time I could not write you any more of our concerns till I saw more elections over, and were able to confirm to you (as I hope I shall in a short time) that our elections in the main will prove right; w^{ch}, if you consider things as I lay'd them before you some months agoe, you will esteem a great providence on our side. As for the disorders and corruptions in our elections in several places, this will but hasten our remedy, and bring on our necessary reformation more speedily. The only thing to be hoped and pray'd for, is, that the Tory party may not be superior: for, if but ever so little inferior, their numbers will be of service rather than of injury: for, as it is said of water or fire, so it may be said of them, that they are good servants, but ill masters; and, as by principles they are slaves, so they are only serviceable when they are kept so, and their slavery and subjection is the

only pledg of our freedome, or of the freedom of the world, as far as we in England are contributors to it, and let our friends in Holland know their friends here, and take notice that it is that party that hate the Dutch and love France, and the Whiggs the only contrary party that can now save them and England. Farewell.

TO MR. WILKINSON.

WILKINSON, *St. Giles, Jan.* 18, 1700-1.

I rec'd yours since that of your journey to the Hague, and am well satisfied with every thing you write me; only I would have you write more in y^r^ letters, and try y^r^ own ingenuity in writing me what remarks you can, and what observations you make more and more in the country where you are, and where I hope by this time you pretty well understand the language; as you will French I hope hereafter. You did well to write to me of your diversion and exercise, amongst other things, as your scating, &c. w^ch^ being innocent and

healthy, and what your master allows and approves, I am very well pleas'd with it. I remember young Mr. Furleys us'd to work hard in Mr. Furley's garden, which will be a notable work for you, if Mr. Furley gives you the employment sometimes; for, since you should have exercise for y^r^ health and as relaxation from business, such exercise as this is far better than the idle plays of youth, w^ch^ I hope you will carefully avoid; seeking always some honester exercise, and some useful labour of the body as the best refreshment after the labour of the mind, and the study w^ch^ you are to stick to for your own improvement and master's service, and this is the way to prosper every way, and to do well, both as to mind and body, and interest in the world; so as to have favour with y^r^ master, w^th^ friends and all persons, w^th^ me in particular, who have made myself a father to you; and, what is far more than all this, with God, whose blessing you may thus expect, and not if you do less than this; since, as you have been provided for by a particular blessing and providence of God, and in an uncommon way, so you must more than commonly behave yourself, and not as commonly the rest of

lads, whose case is not like yours. Pray think on this continually, as you have any regard to your duty either to God or your superiors, and to my admonitions and injunctions; and, tho' I write and shall continue to write as a parent and master to you, and with strict admonishment, yet be you sure to let me hear from you with usual freedom, and write what comes in your mind without restraint or fear.

My kind remembrances to your master and family. I writt last post but one to him; and pray let him know, I hope I can still confirm the good hopes, I writt him as to the proceedings of our elections of parliament-men, for it will not be a Tory Parliament, as designed.

Fare thee well, and pray God bless thee! I am what thou knowest me to be.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *London, March 4th*, 1700-1.

Since what I writt you by the last post but one, I receiv'd yours with the enclosd letter and scheme, which appears to me the best and most ingeniouse proposal of any of those that are for a compounding game, and for making warr on any other foot but that of throwing France out of all, and putting Spain again (by the Archduke) in possession of all; which is wholly my opinion, esteeming all partition-treatyes, of which we have had enough, to be fatall. But, as to this in particular, the reason I judg in the same manner of it is:

1t. Because I conceive that, if the highest policy of man were, on a first discovery of the West Indies, to deliberate how to settle them for the happiness and peace of Europe, they conld not do better than to joyn such an instrument of power to so infirm and impotent a body as Spayn is, and ever must remayn, if not altered in its constitution; and, in fact, that wch must any other way have become a bone of dissention to all Europe, has not

itself been the moving cause or reall occasion of any warr, or attempt of warr, in a whole age now past: whereas, should the Spanish original property in the West Indies be once loosend, and new possessions admitted, it would become the common prey of the contending Powers great at sea: and the shares granted to the English and Dutch, on the foot of such a treaty of peace established, would immediatly ruine those foundations of peace, and happy correspondence which (as things now stand) may be so easily established and riveted between these two nations for their mutual preservation, and the common interest of religion and liberty.

2ly. Should the warr be begun on this foot, and not on that of making the Archduke King of all Spayn, the Princes and States of Italy, besides others in Europe, as well as the great and strong party of the malecontents in Spayn and the European Spanish dominions, seeing no other issue of a warr, but such as was likely to leave France their master by a French King of Spayn at home, will not stay to submit to France till the warr be ended, but will make their court early by throwing all their

weight into that scale; which is enough soon to sink us.

3dly. What a divertion will it be of our force necessary even for our own defence here at home, should we be sending royall fleets and armyes into another world?

4thly. Remember that all depends on the heartyness of the people of England in this warr. They must know the cause for which they fight.

* * * *

Now, if we come again to divisions and partition treatys, there is no end of this: the cause will be perplext and confounded, the people amaz'd and dispirited, and once hearing but of a yielding in any degree to the French King in his late attempt for his grandson, they will say, as their way is, "they are betray'd," and will afterwards be sullenly unactive. A great man of the traiterouse Ministry now prevalent (to our great sorrow and dread) told the King before the opening of the Sessions, "That he knew the people of England that they would never come up to a warr." But the contrary is now seen, and I

have given you and my worthy friends in Holland long since assurance of the contrary. The people of England will, if the Court will let them, engage in a warr, and never yield, nor hear of yielding, whilst France is to have any thing to do with Spayn. But if France be truckled to, or should the Duke of Anjou be by our Court owned (which God forbid), their spirit will sink, and things will be much alter'd for the worse. A more unfair representation never could have been gained than was by the Court this last election in favour of the Tory and French interest, which is one and the same; yet, for all this, fear not, if the King be resolved, he, nor you on the other side the water, need not fear the resolutions of this representation, and least of all of that people they represent.

My kind remembrances to all yours, and to my worthy friends. I am, as ever, yours.

Lord Malford's * letter was most certainly authentick; and very intelligible in the English, whatever it was in the translation: but by this time I guess you have seen it.

* The Earl of Melfort, the prime Councillor of the exiled King James.

The Art of Governing by Partyes * was sent you by the author.

The settlement of the Succession will go on well, and care will be taken to confirm and enlarge our Bill of Rights, in the same Act of Settlement. Wee wayt impatiently the coming of your fleet to our assistance; wee are fitting out very fast.

TO MR. WILKINSON.

WILKINSON, *Chelsea, March* 10*th*, 1700-1.

I receiv'd thine of the 5th, and till this day have heard nothing of the ship, which now I find is come into the river, by my receiving two letters from Mr. Furley (of y^{e} 7 and 19th of last month).

I am glad you take rightly what I so often and earnestly admonish you of; and that you understand how excellent a thing it is to recommend yourself by y^{r} good carriage to those who take care of you, and are your benefactors, and in the room of parents to you, but chiefly to recommend

* Republished in 1757.

yourself to Him who is the great benefactor of all, and who has made His service to be itself the greatest blessing to us, besides what reward He has promised; for what can be more happy y^n^ to lead a virtuous and sober life, if we consider how it is w^th^ those who live virtuously, and what can be more enjoyment than to live usefully to ourselves and others, by making ourselves through our industry and sobriety to be of use in the world, and esteemed by all that are good; therefore, remember that the greatest part of your duty to God is to fit yourself for good, and for all the services and good offices you are capable of, especially in the service of so good a master and mistress, who will instruct you in all that is for y^r^ good and advantage.

All our friends here are well, and every thing (I bless God) prospers with our family. My sister Hooper is brought to bed, and has got a brave boy which she is a nurse to. No more now, but my kind remembrances to the good family you are in. I remain, your loving friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

Pray return my kind thanks to Mrs. Furley for her present of chesnutts, &c. w^ch^ Mr. Furley speaks

of, and which I imagine may be come by this ship. What is become of those you sent I cannot tell; you did not write the ship's name. Since I writt this, I have writt a letter to Mr. Furley, w^ch^ I hope will come safe to him with this to you.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *London, March* 11*th*, 1701.

By what I have been writing in the enclosed I have no time left me to write any thing to you, or to coppy any of the news in the latter end of the letter to Mr. Hysterman, which I have therefore sent open to you, and desire you would seal and send away (immediately after you have read it) to him at Amsterdam. You may communicate contents by word of mouth to our good friends Mynheer Van Twede and Paats at Rotterdam; my best services to them and others who are so kind as to remember me. This, with kind love to yourself and family, is all that hast will allow from your entire friend.

A Bill is brought in the House of Commons for the fixing the Bishops to their sees, and hindering their removalls, by which they depend on the Crown, and are made votes for the Court. 'Tis a dilemma; for, if they throw this Bill out of the House of Lords, they will next time be thrown out themselves.

MR. FURLEY, *March* 25, 1701.

I receiv'd yours with notice of your sending forward my letter to our friend at Amsterdam; but, having also writ you account (the post after) of what passed in the House of Lords in relation to their Address, w^ch^ you seem to have heard by some other hand, I fear that letter of mine may have miscarryed. As for those fears that are spread amongst you, of our being likely to abandon Holland, and resolv'd on peace and submission, there is nothing more wrongly grounded, tho' I cannot say groundless; for I doubt not but the business of Friday last made great noise in Holland, as if we had lost some great point, tho' it was nothing,

and no real tryal of the partyes for England or France; but of the partyes for or against some particular persons of the late ministry who would have screend themselves under that vote, which was a side-wind justification, or at least a countenance of the Partition Treaty, for which some of the late Ministry were engaged. Since that they carried it further, so as to fix it on the late Lord Chancellour as a crime to have set the broad seal to that Treaty. In the mean time, by these exasperating things, that party make themselves but more desperate with the King, who is personally reflected on and abusd in these matters; and some of the hottest men shewing themselves thus partial to France in some of their speeches, where they inveigh so much against the management of the court, the effect of this is advantageouse to us, by strengthening us and making them weaker with the people, and I hope with the King from whome they have all their strength; it being only his own ministry that obstructs the most vigorouse resolutions which would be taken for a warr against France, so that, when things are ripe, I cannot but assure myself the King will give the turn; for he

has all the sound part of England with him in this cause; and the resolution of the nation for warr grows stronger and stronger.

Depend upon it wee gain ground apace, all people come into us, and when the King has a mind to exert himself, he may do it fully with the whole strength of the nation.

All that you hear of the coldness or backwardness of the people or Parlem^{t} is from the ministry only, and this is in the King's breast; so that those who fear nothing as to the King, have nothing to fear either as to our people or Parlement.

I think I mention'd in some former letter about Mr. Leers, that I had received none of those books from him which I heard were sent me; they were the continuation of Grevius and Gronovius's of Roman and Greek Antiquities. I never receiv'd more than what I brought out of Holland myself; if this be the continuation from thence it is well, otherwise I desire to hear more from him. In hast, farewell; my service to all friends.

MR. FURLEY, *London, April* 1, 1701.

I receiv'd y^rs^ with the enclosed from my worthy friend your neighbour, to whom I have writt fully this post; and having but little time this night, because of some letters I was obliged to write to some other friends in Holland, I got a part of one of those letters copyed over which I here enclose to you; it being impossible to give a fuller account of things to you than I have done in this, and in what I writt this post to your neighbour. This enclos'd was to Mr. Hysterman, to be communicated by him to some friends who desired information from me of our English affairs; particularly to one friend of his, a great man. But I desire you would take no notice of this, only if you think this worth communicating to our friends at Rotterdam, you may do it; but keep the writing in your own hands.

My most hearty service to them all, at this time especially, that I, who am naturally so unactive, am working day and night for their service, and for the common interest of Holland and this country.

On this union all depends. I hope things will

go well notwithstanding their appearance. My dues to all your family, and believe me for ever yours.

MR. FURLEY, *London, April* 15, 1701.

I have not yet heard, in answer to my last, at wch time I writt also to Mr. V. T. but I have receiv'd yrs by Mr. Daranda, with whome I am extreamly glad of having had the opportunity of being acquainted.

I write this in haste, and late at night, to tell you of our affaires, how that at last our friends are given up as a peace offering to the Tory party who have promised all shall go smoothly, and without opposition to the King, on these terms, of their disabling the late ministry from coming into place again. Accordingly, yesterday they carryed, by 10, their impeachment against Lords Sommers, Oxford, and Hallifax, and to day an address to remove them from the King's presence and councills. All is done wch they possibly can do against them; nor do they design carrying things any further, having obtained their end, and this the King has con-

sented to, so that he must now trust to the Toryes for this sessions, which I hope will be the last of this Parlement. I believe it will have this effect; that, since the King will not dissolve this Parlement immediately, he will peece up matters for this sessions, and the Toryes coming in to what they have promised, you will find that unanimity which the King desires so much and layes so much stress upon.

And I doubt not but things will so work that he will be glad to be rid of them, and will be so soon after they rise, for England cannot have justice till this Parlement be dissolv'd.

In the mean time it is remarkable that even in this Parlement it is only by stratagem and arts that they turn off that spiritt w^{ch} is towards a warr and vigorouse maintenance of the cause; for even these accusations and impeachments are founded on a supposition of these men's having acted for the interest of France, the subject of their impeachment being for having advised the first partition treaty in 1698, where the electoral Prince was made heir to Spain; so that the cause against France is still more and more advanced, tho' we are untowardly

diverted in our means of prosecuting it. But, perhaps, you may see the House sit roundly to business now this is over. The treaty they have promised to maintain carryes all with it; they need only now immediately satisfy the present demands, raise what is required with expedition, the rest will work of itself, and the warr once begun, we shall come in *totis viribus*. All this in the Parlem^t^ is from the King himself; he might do every thing had he resolution.* The spiritt of the people is greater and greater, they do not betray the common cause nor themselves, but if he betrays himself what can we say or do?

I am, as ever, y^rs^; my love and service to all y^r^ family, and my best respects and services to my worthy friends Mynheer Paats, V. Tweede, &c. and to Mynheer Weland, when you see him. I sent you lately an enclosed paper in a cover, on which you will know my hand. Pray let me know if it came safe.

* It will be observed throughout these letters, that the writer is an intemperate partizan, and like others of the same party, he speaks with an undue degree of freedom of the qualities and person of the King; a total want of humility and deference to rank and authority characterized all the Whig writers of that period.

MR. FURLEY, *London, May* 6, 1701.

I receiv'd your second enclos'd letter of Lord Hollis, which is very apt and seasonable. Many things have been printed here in England of like nature, and have had their effect; the nation is rightly disposed; they are not as they are represented abroad, and are only unhappy in being so ill understood. The people of England have not abandoned the common cause, yet England has. How shall I explain this riddle? or does it need explanation? what has not the people of England, and even the Parlem^{t}, this very Parlement, done to shew their right intentions for a warr, and their resolution to oppose the title of the new King of Spain? The Parlem^{t} long since rejected the proposal of owning the Duke of Anjou with disdain. They did all and more than was asked them from the Court, yet the Duke of Anjou at last is own'd, and a peace publickly declared for by those of the King's present ministry. Now let any man judg of us, what can any one expect we should do? the King of Spain, contrary to the sense of the nation and Parlement, is owned.

The fleet is disarmed, and the bigg shipps all sent into harbour. A peace is declar'd from Court as the settled resolution, and all things sound of the good correspondance and mutual friendship of our Court and the Court of France. What can people abroad expect that we should do? Should we declare warr on those who are against a warr abroad, when the King himself is thus represented. If we fall on his ministry, you say it is meant against himself; and if we let his ministry alone, they do the work of France, and force us to peace. I writt you in my last that the King had given up *his friends*, and now he has *his cause*. The first was recoverable, and I writt you with good assurance upon it. Nor was I at all mistaken; all had gone well even after that sacrifice, if he himself had pleased; but when it was known that he had own'd the Duke of Anjou, the adverse party had the field left to them, and they have us'd the King as they pleas'd. The first thing they proceeded to was taking from him £100,000 of his settled yearly revenue, and they may take what they think fit, for nobody will oppose the King in w^{t} he thinks fitt to resign of his crown, since he has committed

himself to these men with an allowance to them to make themselves as popular as they desire at his expense. If this usage of the King does not move him nothing will; and, tho' I speak freely now, I shall not afterwards, for the consequences to be drawn will be then beyond what I shall dare to write. In the mean time our friends have been so farr active to day in the House, as to call the ministry in question for the laying up the ships of warr, and turning off the men, and they have appointed a committee to examine it. Besides this, they have pushed on the Bill of Succession, and carried it through the committee, so that we shall now soon see it pass'd.—As to y^r^ question to me about King James raising money without Act of Parlem^t^, it is most certain: it was the dutyes on coles and other customes settled on King Charles for life, and which he collected before he called a Parlem^t^, who afterwards settled it, without taking notice of the unlawful collection, w^ch^ was the reason, I suppose, it was not taken notice of in the Prince of Orange's declaration.

I have not time to write to Mr. Van Twedde as I hop'd this night. He may be assur'd that I re-

joice at any opportunity of serving M. V. Twedde, his son here in England. I beg my hearty service and respects to my other friends, particularly to Mr. Flink, whome you lately mention'd. This with my love and friendship to you and yours is all at present from yours.

I saw your son Arn lately in Essex with Mr. Locke; he was very we'l and is much grown. Mr. Locke is as well as I have known him, only of late he has had a humour in his leggs.

I hope the lad Wilkinson does well, and if so pray remember me to him with kindness, and tell him that I received his letters and shall write to him when I have more time.

MR. FURLEY, *London, May* 9, 1701.

Since my last to you, by last post, on which I told you of the ill effect of the sad news of our Court's having owned the Duke of Anjou, we have seen some little spirit from the Court, as if we were not wholly to be given up. Tho' these late measures have dispirited all good men, and have well

nigh putt all our affaires into the hands of the advers party, carrying all before them by the countenance and assistance of the King's own ministry. But yesterday we had a seeming hearty message from the King, and a most pathetic letter from the States, about the growth of France and their own danger. This matter was this day debated in the House; immediately it was proposed that we should vote the support of our allies, of Holland in particular, and of the liberty of Europe in general; and that we should also immediately proceed to raise the supplyes for the States as agreed by the antient treaty.

The latter of this was soon yielded to by the advers party, who found there was no contesting it. But the leaders, Musgrave, Seamor, Shoar, strenuously opposed the other part as to our allyes Holland and Europe. Jack Howe, to do him justice, came off from them, and declar'd a warr seem'd now necessary, the designs of France being so apparent, and Holland in such distress. This made the rest of that party withdraw from their opposition, and the whole resolution, of assisting the King to support his allies abroad, to maintain the liberty of Europe, and of immediately providing the sup-

plyes promis'd the States by the treaty, was at last agreed to *nemine contradicente*, which will, I hope, give satisfaction abroad. To-morrow we go on the same consideration in the House of Lords, and shall, I hope, make some considerable resolutions, which will both lead the way to the Commons, and give encouragement to the people, who are every day better and better dispos'd.

But now I must hint to you a thing of great importance for you to transact, if you approve of it. You must know then that, there being few of us of the country party here in England, who have any good correspondance or any acquaintance with those of the same principles and interest in Holland, and such as these being apt to judge of Holland as if influenc'd by our Court here, nothing that comes from thence has so much credit as when it comes from some of the honest party, and those out of the Government. All our young men are drawn away by the speciouse actions of these present managers, who seem so much to promote a domestic liberty, and under that pretence are bringing on a forreign and universal tyranny. Some of these I happen to be acquainted with, and 'hey know I have an acquaintance, and some small

credit with those of the right party in Holland; and by this means I am able to do some little service, but it would be much more if some help were added, and that some of those gentlemen had the sense of our frends abroad more immediately communicated to them. For instance, Lord Paulet,* well known amongst you, is a man of great influence, and is a little entangled in the netts I tell you of; the other party making it their chief game to work on such men as these, who have great interest both in Country and Parlement. A letter from some of his acquaintance of Rotterdam (Mr. Van Twedde suppose, or any such,) might be of use; or, if he were mention'd in any letter of mine which I might communicate to him, and in which he saw himself addressed to.

There is a great and worthy young man who has signaliz'd himself in this last debate by speaking beyond all others for the interest of Holland, the Protestant Religion, and Europe. It is Lord Paget's son, Mr. Paget, † well known, as I think I re-

* John, the fourth Lord Poulett, and afterwards (in 1706) the first Earl and K. G.

† Henry, afterwards (in 1714) the first Earl of Uxbridge, was for many years Knight in Parliament for Staffordshire.

member, to Mr. Flink. Might not he someway find occasion to write to him, and compliment him on his noble service?

MR. FURLEY, *London, May* 23, 1701.

I receiv'd yours of the 24th (your stile) as well as what you writt me since by a particular hand of the 27th, together with one from Mr. V. Twedde, to whome I return my hearty thanks, and would do it in a letter to himself, but that I have no occasion that offers.

As to publick affairs, which remain still in the same state in the main, our great expectation is to see what the King will do at the rising of this Parlement, for it is apparent that if he has a mind to have a Parlement that will vigorously carry on a warr, he may now have one by instantly disolving this, which was chosen when the nation was in the dark, and deluded by the Court itself against the interest of the Government; yet the voice of the people has so overcome this very Parlm^{t}, that they have been forc'd to follow the King in what-

soever measures he was willing to lead them; and alltho the other day they took from him £.100,000 of his revenue for life, yet they have given it him back again in the House this day with interest; I say with interest only as a common expression, for in reality they have given him what will be equal to £.100,000 pr. annum more than he had settled on him before. The thing itself, as well as the manner of its being given, is too long for me to tell you the particulars of, only in the main it was thus compromis'd. The Torys first struck off the £.100,000, which the Whiggs would not oppose, because they desponded of the King's intentions as to a warr. But, since the letter of the States General, and the steps taken by the King which have rais'd hopes of his being broken with France, and resolv'd to defend the cause, this has made the honest party more active for the King, so that the Torys and present ministry, finding that the King was able to fetch his hundred thousand pound back again, made a compromise; and, to wash off the disgrace which they incurr'd with the King before, and gain also some merit for the future, they of themselves did what I tell you this

day, and it went thus advantageously for the King without any division, questions, or so much as any one speaking against it.

More I could say to shew you how much the King has all things in his power if he will exert himself, and a dissolution now would sett us on a right foot. The Succession Bill is (I thank God) pass'd both Houses and ready for the royal assent. I am as ever yours.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, June 20th,* 1701.

I have been prevented several posts one after another, or I should not have been thus long silent; but you know how we are engaged in bussiness, especially since the division of the two Houses, which all good people are pleased with, since it is like to be a means of ridding us of such a danger-ouse House of Commons, who will be no sooner up than all England will be ready to petition the King to disolve them, they being as much hated for their hipocresy in the last vote against France, after their keeping back things so long, as for their

plain and open injustice against so many of their fellow subjects, and against those in particular whome they persecute so violently without design or intention of fairly trying them, but whome the Lords will in justice therefore acquitt, as they already have done my Lord Sommers. The King had the happiest opportunity in the world now in his hands of disolving this Parlement, and of having another chosen of a quite different sort by the dissatisfyed people; who could not have been impos'd upon, had not the party obtain'd of the King such a speech as he last made, approving (or at least seeming to approve) all their proceedings; so that, covering themselves under that royall approbation, and then coming to a sham vote against the exhorbitant power of France, they have done much by these artifices to blind the people, and set themselves right in their opinion; but I hope this may yet fail them; for their unreasonable and unjust quarrel with the House of Lords (who have gaind great reputation of late, and are favourites with the people), will make it allmost impracticable for the King to call this same Parlement to-

gether again, a dissolution being the only way to put an end to these fewds. And I have absolv'd my paradox, that good people wished well to our divisions.

I received yours by the Transilvanian Gentleman, who I believe is gon to the Universitys as he said he design'd; for, he having been desirouse to see our Parlement, I had an opportunity now of letting him see our greater pomp which is at a Lord's Tryall, but I heard not of him at his lodgings. Young Mr. Van Twedde I took care of, and plac'd him with some friends who could inform him of all. I beg my humble service to Mr. Van Twedde himself, and all your good neighbours my worthy friends. I am of you and y^{rs} a sincere and hearty friend. I hope the lad Harry dos well.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles's, July* 21, 1701.

I receiv'd your extream kind, sociable, and friendly letter, in which your son Mr. Benjohan and Harry had their part.

By all accounts we have reason to hope well of the King's good resolutions against the common enemy, and have reason to bless Providence for the gloriouse success of the Imperialists under Prince Eugene in Italy.

Our part on this side of the water is now only to animate our people the best we can in this interval of Parlement, that they may be prepar'd on a new election to chuse the worthyest men, or in case of the continuance of the present Parlem^{t} (which we all pray against) to continue to oppose them every way by Adresses, Petitions, &c. and force them into their duty, as you see they did in some measure by the help of the Lords at the ending of the last Sessions, when they began a little to chang their note, the voice of the people being so high in their ears.

I have some private assurance that there is a secret sum remitted monthly from us to Italy to sup-

port the Imperialists. Our Countryes long for a speedy dissolution; but if it be delayed till this spirit and resentment of the people be abated, and till the offenders by their arts have sooth'd the people, begg'd pardons, disguisd themselves, and acted new parts, the advantage will be lost to the honest country interest.

I had a letter from Mr. Toland, to which I answerd this post. I am sorry, but not surprizd, that he should not take his measures more justly, so as not to offend or disoblige my Lord Macklesfield in his present character and circumstances.* I begg you to acquit me to my Lord with all honour and respect, as you have opportunity, either by word or letter. I begg too my kind and respectfull remembrances to Mynheer Paats, Van Twedde, Flinck, &c. of your town, and most particularly to my friends of your own houshold, good Mrs. Furley and your sons; and last of all with my kind wishes to Harry for his doing well and pleasing you, his master and good friend. I should be mighty glad, for his improvement, (if you approvd it) to be at the charg of a French master for

* See hereafter, p. 156.

him, to putt him in a way of learning that language so necessary for him. Of this I shall hear from you in your next, and remain your faithfull friend as ever,

SHAFTESBURY.

St. Giles's, Aug. 20 [1701].

I receiv'd yours of the 16 and another by the post following, both which have brought me very agreeable news: and we have a rumour here in the country of a yet greater advantage of the Imperialists, which we must stay till tomorrow's post to know wether true or fals.

In the mean time I find your fears answerable to mine; for, should the French Court be humbled so far as to offer the admission of the Emperour's Minister, and treat of a partition, I should think all were likely to go to ruine; for, as I have from the beginning insisted to you, so I still do, that it were better for Europe to sett still and suffer the most horrid indignities under this present settlement of Spayn, in hopes of seeing it disunited from France either by time and in a natural way,

or by a more favourable opportunity for a revolution, rather this, I say, which is hazardouse enough, than by treaty of their own making abandon for ever, and give up the just title and interest of the House of Austria, and for the sake of a few dominions, which may be called a satisfaction, confirm their own ruine by tying the knot faster, and necessitating such a union of Spain and France as must end not only in the taking back those foolish pledges, but the liberty of the whole world.

In short, Europe has been supported by the ballance of the Houses of Austria and Bourbon. The House of Austria having had Spayn has yet been an unequal ballance. Now loosing Spain, it either looses it to a third Power, which will at least be separated from and have no engagements with France (and even thus the game is still but more hazardous for Europe); or if it looses it to a power which by nature and necessity must be the same with France, who sees not the consequence to be certain ruine? But, altho' it may be thought that there may be room to hope a disunion of Spain and France under the two branches of the House of Bourbon; yet, if Spain be so disabled as to be

no way a support to itself, and so disobligd by the Austrian Family and by Europe as to have its darling provinces torn from it, and be thus left naked and forlorn, what can be expected either from nature or reason, policy and passion, but that they must wholly fling themselves on France, and endeavour if possible (what is easily possible) to bring their monarchyes even under one line and person, hoping, as they may well hope and presume with certainty, that in another generation the seat of the then universall monarchy will not be a Versailles or a Marly, but Madrid. Thus, having no news, I can only send you reasonings and opinions on that news you send me. We loose ground sadly by the delay of the dissolution, if the King resolves there shall be one.

My dues to all my friends, chiefly of your own houshold. Farewell.

Your son Arn is well with me here at St. Giles, and will write to you himself.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles's, Aug.* 26, 1701.

Yesterday y^r^ son Arent went from hence after having done me the kindness to stay w^th^ me a week and a day or two over. I would not earnestly press him to a longer stay, since his time appointed by you was so short, and that he was desirous to see Oxford, whither I have taken care of conveying him well, he being from thence to return by y^e^ stage-coach to London (as he tells me), so to Colchester, and so to you; but I should be glad it were otherwise, and that you were to come to him, at least so as to fetch him over, that you might see your friends here after a long absence. I think you need on no account to be concern'd or doubtful of y^r^ son Arent's carriage, for he seems to be of a thoroughly sober, modest, and good disposition; and I hope he will be worthy of so good a father.

Things with us grow wors and wors through the delay of y^e^ dissolution, which all good people hoped would be pretty soon, but now think dispairingly of. This gives still further advantage to the treacherouse party to represent the actions of the

leading party in the House of Commons as agreeable to the King, who, if he seem to approve their conduct, the nation cannot disapprove or show their dislike: the King, instead of discountenancing the party, has given great countenance to them, and seems still to court them, w^ch^ must be fatal to him if it go on.

Here in our country particularly, S^r^ Edw^d^ Seymour * has one of the greatest grants of deer that has been known out of the forest near us, where he hunts them in great parade and pomp, and has a rendevouz of all his party.

At Devonshire Assizes they got a Grand Jury of their own creatures to draw up something by way of address, in contradiction to what several of the honest countys of England have address'd for; viz. a new Parlem^t^. And thus, whilst the King countenances and assists his enemys against his friends, his enemies must needs prevail. Our fleet is wind bound in Torbay; the wind having been several days, and still continuing, directly contrary to them, and blowing pretty hard; we all hope it is design'd there shall be some action; but this in-

* See hereafter, p. 164.

activity at home makes us fearful of the same abroad, and that vigourouse measures, w^ch^ are the only that can save us, are not like to be us'd; w^ch^, seeing the success Providence has hitherto given to y^e^ Emperour in Italy, makes us feel so much the more regret. If a dissolution be intended and not soon executed with spirit and resolution, (the King declaring his mind freely, and acting cordially for his friends), we shall have as ill a choice perhaps as we had before; the honest people of England being deluded and made to judge amiss by the behaviour of the Court. On the other side, if this Parlem^t^ sitt again, how can we expect good from them? or if this House of Commons mended a little, yet how will matters be adjusted between them and the House of Peers, w^ch^ a dissolution will bury in oblivion and put an end to. In short our adversarys have, after 12 years mistake, learnt their right game: they act the Commonwealth's men, and herd w^th^ us: the tares are in our wheat; we want a secretion, and nothing can do this but a right Test: and that is an abjuration, and oath of fidelity to this new settlement

and Protestant Line. This left voluntary and not enforced will be a national index. The King may dissolve this Parlem^{t}, and have this if he pleases, and afterwards have all he can desire. But I must end with respects to all friends, believe me as ever,

Yours.

Sept. 15, 1701.

I am two in your debt; for the first I thank both y^{r}self and my worthy friend Mr. Flink, to whome I am already so much indebted, both for his friendship so kindly afforded me in Holland, and so favourably continued in his remembrance of me and correspondence with me through you; I begg you to assure him of my sincere gratitude and wishes of being able to make any suitable return. Your last was of the gloriouse news of the success of the Imperialists at Chiari, which I hope in God ere this time is well prov'd by Prince Eugene.

After those wise and just fears which you express'd to me about a treaty, the news of the Prince of Wales's title, set up by France, and by it the apparent breach of the Ruswick treaty, with other things as to our trade, amounting to a decla-

ration of warr upon us; all this, I say, coming together has been of great comfort to me, and the certainty of a league offensive and defensive between us and the Emperour has added still more, and makes me hope that fatal step of peace is over.

Again we have a fresh and noble opportunity of a new Parlem^{t}, if the King will lay hold of it; but the opposite party, seeing their weakness, and the current of the nation against them, have agreed together rather than hazzard a dissolution so fatall to them, that they will engage to do every thing for the King which he shall ask of them. I pray God he be not abus'd by them, as he surely will be if he hearkens to them, and lets them sit again once more: for they will put the nation into a flame, re-kindle the animosityes of the last Sessions, drive on their maliciouse prosecutions of private men with greater reveng since their defeat, in short they will embroyl both the houses, and endeavour to ruine both our Constitution and Government at once. For my own part I foresee the inevitable ruine, if the King distrusts himself and resolves again to meet this unhappy Parlement, w^{ch} he brought upon himself, and which the nation

groans under, and must suffer by, if he will not deliver them and himself from them. The case is self-evident: if he will give himself up and hearken to a treacherouse and destructive peace, this is a suitable policy: if he means warr and safety for himself, it cannot be effected thus, and we who cannot retrive his disgrace shall be unwilling to go up to be witnesses of it, and so shall remain in our contryes without hope, and expecting ruine. The King being to be soon here, we shall know our doom. But we hear that in Holland our friends have been unsuccessfull in their instances with him to dissolve the Parlement, for which he has now the most favourable opportunity.

I have heard from your son Arent of his safe arrival in town. I have a piece by me in manuscript of a very honest, and no wonder therefore if I say poor, churchman, concerning Church Communion, which was never seen but by myself. 'Tis short, and I had resolv'd to send it you by your son, but forgott to give it him at going away; however, if he goes not away from town till I have a convenience to send it to him from hence, he will bring it to you, otherwise send me word by what

hand I shall send it when you have any good opportunity. When you have read it you will send me word how you like it.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles*, 29 *Sept.* 1701.

I receiv'd both yours of the 27 and this of the 4 of October, with notice of the receipt of my last, when Lord Macclesfield* was with you.

The late behaviour of the Court of France in setting up a King of England, and falling on our trade, with other circumstances of the highest provocation for dissolving this Parlem^t^, that it will be beyond human apprehension if it be not layd hold on instantly, and I again and again repeat it to you and foretell that nothing but this can set us on a right bottom, begining with an abjuration of this pretended title, so formidably set up and supported, which if the malignant and Tory party are able either to throw out, or not being able to throw

* Charles Gerard, the second Earl of Macclesfield of that family, and a Colonel in the army, was sent Ambassador to the Court of Hanover in 1701, with the Order of the Garter, and congratulations on the establishment of the Succession in favour of that family. He died soon after his return, and only six days after this letter was written, Oct. 5, 1701.

out, shall in another way defeat it, as they did the Association, by inforcing it and making it penall, so that the whole party came in on the principle of force and constraint under a King *de facto;* in this case you will see a totall disturbance in our affaires ere long, however promising they may look at the beginning of the Sessions of such a Parlement as this, if this continues, who will not fail to promise enough at the beginning, as they have, to my certain knowledge, laid their scheme, and then break all and embroyl the Houses towards the end, that all may be defeated, and supplyes and measures render'd ineffectual. This I entreat you and friends to take notice of and remember. But on the other side I have good hopes and full assurance if there be but a new Parlement instantly call'd: and this may sit and do business as soon as the old, or within a very few days later.

Pray be pleas'd to take care, yourself, of this pacquet of books from Mr. Leers, it being the last, as I take it, of the remaining tomes of the Thesaur. Antiq. of Grævius; the former parts were taken so little care of that, Mr. Leers' correspondent being then in Ireland, and I not knowing how to apply

to him, part of my tomes were sold, which he is to make good to me as he has promised.

So pray pay Mr. Leers, and with my service to him, hoping he has given me well chosen exemplaryes. You may draw the money for this and the rest on Wilkinson's account, allowing time for me, now that I am out of town, to sign the bill and send it to be paid to your correspondent.

I thank you for your constant information of things abroad, and begg you would make my excuses this post to Mr. Van Twedde for his most kind and acceptable letter, which I cannot answer by this, which, with my most hearty service to him, Mynheer Paats, Mr. Flink, and friends, chiefly your friends and family, is all from yours faithfully.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles's, Oct.* y^e^ 18*th*, 1701.

So many forreign mails came in lately, after being kept back by contrary winds, that by this post I have receiv'd three of yours alltogether, and have little time to answer them as I would do, unless I would defer, which I cannot do, the acquaint-

ing you of the receipt of your bill on me to Mr. Limbourg, for 68 sterling, which I have sent him back endorsed to receive it presently of my goldsmith in town.

All that I can answer you as to publick affairs is by referring you to what I wrote long since at the opening of this scene of affaires, particularly when I writt in answer to a proposall of our seizing any part of the West Indies, and dividing the Spanish monarchy that way. This was of all other sort, in my judgment, the most perniciouse way of partitioning: it being neither the true way to wealth nor for the security of our libertyes; but above all a most certain foundation of dissension between the two great people of the world,* on whose strict union and friendship, which God Almighty for ever preserve, depends the safety of the world and the preservation of all that is good or estimable amongst mankind.

In the next place: lett what will be said of the last partition, I am sure of this, that no partition which gives the bulk of Spain with the West Indies again to the House of Austria, can

* His Lordship means the English and Dutch.

be absolutely fatal to Europe. But whatever partition leaves the House of Austria unrestor'd, and the bulk of Spain in a French Prince's hands, is and must be absolutely and undeniably fatal to Europe. Therefore, as much as I detest the false policy, cowardice, or treachery of those who speak of peace at a time when we must fight or be oppress'd, yet still I averr that it is better to submit now early and wait for what Providence may work for us by a division of the courts and interests of France and Spain when unmolested and left to themselves, rather than, after a warr begun upon them, to unite them more indissolubly at last, conclude a peace which shall leave the Duke of Anjou on the Throne of Spain, and France in the consequence master of the world, whatever may be foolishly and weakly hop'd by the advantage of a partioning of some poor tracts of land, which will be soon regain'd again when the great confederacy is by a peace dissolv'd, and the ports of Spain, the Streights, and West Indies, left in the power and managem^{t} of France. But, if the partitioning be not to allow the least to France, but, giving the bulk to the Archduke, the true King of Spain, the rest be for some other

powers, princes or states, to engage them in this grand alliance, and to tear more from France than even what she has got in the last age, then do I like and heartily applaud this partitioning. This wee in England have a true sense of, and I assure you it is farr from being the spiritt of England to aim at any thing for themselves abroad, which never can be but fatall to their libertyes they so well love; and to shew you their sense in a few words, and I think it cannot be better express'd, I will conclude with transcribing you the words which my brother* yesterday carryed up in an address to the King from the Corporation he serves for, and which in respect of the public has the advantage of sending as many Members as London itself, for he is one of four. The words are these:

"And we hope that your Majesty, in a just resentment of this attempted usurpation (of the French, King) will be enabled soon, by the assistance of your Parlem^{t}, to call in question those other titles he has set up in Europe, and by restoring the

* The Hon. Maurice Cooper; he sat in six Parliaments for Weymouth and Melcombe, and in 1701 was chosen for Wiltshire, as is alluded to in a subsequent letter.

House of Austria and Crown of Spain, to put an end to his usurpations over those nations, and to the hopes he has of being thereby master of the trade and liberty of these Kingdomes, and all the neighbouring world."

My respects to yours and all our friends.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, Dec.* 29, 1701.

I believe you hardly wonder at my silence this last month, when you consider how great a scene has opened for the publick, in w^ch^ I was called to be so great an actor, having strongly obliged my self to be so; for as, on one hand, you know well, I was determined to retire absolutely from all publick affairs, and never to have stirr'd out of my privacy in the country, had the King persisted in the resolution of keeping the last Parlem^t^ and ministry; so, on the other hand, having been at one time almost the single man alive that peremptorily insisted on a dissolution, and having tryed all along both by my friends here and in Holland, to evince the necessity of it, and to bring it to effect, in which

perhaps I may have been some instrument, I had the strongest obligation on earth upon me to act with vigour, as I have done since the opportunity the King has most happily given us, and it has pleased Providence to bless me with great success, for having my province, and that a very hard one, in two countys long in the hands of the most inveterate of the advers party, I notwithstanding carried all that I attempted in both. In one of them, viz. Wilts, which my brother and his friend represent, instead of two inveterate Toryes, we have there mended the elections by eight, which is a majority of sixteen in Parlem^{t}: and in Dorsetshire, my own county, we have gained also considerably. My friend Mr. Trenchard being in the room of a constant ill vote for the county, and my friend Sir John Cropley being also brought in by me at the place of my name, Shaftesbury, which was ever entirely in their hands since my grandfather's death, but which I have now entirely recover'd, and made zealouse. And as a token that the King himself is right, as we would wish, he yesterday gave me most hearty thanks for my zeal and good services on this occasion, and this before much company,

which is a sufficient declaration against Sir Edward Seymour * and y^t^ party, to whom my opposition was personal, and who himself in person, and by his relations, opposed me every where in the elections, tho', I thank God, were every where defeated.

I have thoroughly, and as a friend, considered of the concern of your son Arent, and tho' I could have given you but little encouragement before, I think I may give it you now, depending on this happy turn of the King and Administration, which, being as it formerly was and seemed likely to continue, what hope could there be for any of us or our friends? I will advise further about it with mine and your friends, for you may trust me that I am not indifferently, y^r^ friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

My kind respects to all y^rs^, and to friends, parcularly Mr. Van Twedde, for whom I truly grieve.

* "The ablest man of his party," says Burnet, "was Seymour, who was the first Speaker of the House of Commons that was not bred to the law." He was the leader of the impeachment against Lord Chancellor Clarendon.—His grandson became the eighth Duke of Somerset.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, Jan.* 6, 1701-2.

I writ you but a few posts since, and have now receivd y^rs^ of the 10^th^ your style.

I writ you concerning your son: but confess I feel the strength of your objection as to the chang of those friends in employment by whose interest we may hope to have him introduced; for allready to our misfortune we see the King beginning to hesitate, and because of the ill success in a Speaker (which he ows wholly to his own fals servants, viz. Sir George Rooke, the Churchills, and others of their side, who acted violently and spoke ag^t^ his interest), he now stopps in the midst of his work, and leaves these vipers and their brood still within his bowells. But w^t^ most of all astonishes me is, to hear from you that such men as Mr. Hysterman and others whome he converses with, and are the best of our friends in Holland, should at this time of day joyn in those fatal councills, and wish that measures should be still kept with that malignant and inveterate party that are enemyes to us by principle, and are in nothing more plainly distin-

guishd from us than by their mortal hatred to Holland; where I am sorry they should have any to plead for them, tho' I am satisfyed that the first unhappy turn of the King towards that sort immediately after we sate the Crown on his head spight of their teeth, was owing to some of that nation, who were as little friends to the true interest of that as of ours. But I allways hopd that the Holland whigg party and friends of liberty (such as Mr. Hysterman and his friends) better knew, or at least in time would come better to know, their friends here and who they were, that on the one side only could support, and on the other side could never but supplant this our present Government.

I am glad you like the advice of Wiltshire to my brother; 'twas signed by a mighty body of Gentry who appeard for him and his friend who is chosen with him, and it was first drawn up by a certain good friend of yours and his. I first mov'd an abjuration in the countryes, and induc'd many to give it (as you have seen the town of Shaftesbury) in their instructions, and I have now opend it in Parlem^{t}, and tomorrow we bring in the Bill into the House of Lords, who have addressd the King in a

second Address for the dethroning the usurper of Spain and restoring the House of Austria.

I know not if Mr. Hysterman has communicated to you some propositions which I hastily drew up, and sent to a friend to have finish'd, calld "Paradoxes of State;" if they are made publick I will send you them.

I am now, on my own account and my friend Sir John Cropley's, to desire your care of a young gentleman (who needs it), a younger brother of a worthy gentleman our friend, one Mr. Micklethwayt. The lad is to go to school to learn French and merchant's accounts; but it is fear'd he will not do well at any school where there are English lads. What you may lay out for him will be answerd by Sir John Cropley and his own brother, and be an obligation to them as to myself.

My respects to yours and all my friends. I am

Sincerely yours.

Pray remember me to Harry, to whome I writ some lines (tell him) the same post I writ last to you.

We have had two divisions to trye our strength in the House of Commons, and are considerably

superiour. I shall send you as usual some of our English country fare (I mean our brawn) which I hope will come better to you this time than it did last Christmass, and prove better.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, Feb.* 22, 1701.

I receiv'd yours of the 11 and that of the 25 since, which you writt me of the death of that worthy person Mr. John de Witt, whose loss I much bemoan. I did not write to you from the country because I was just coming up to the Parlem^{t}, and could better inform you of affairs when there. And till now I have waited to see whether my opinions delivered to you of the Parlem^{t} (I mean the House of Commons) were true or not. But the day before yesterday it was plainly made out that the honest party were prevalent, and much superior (more than ever they yet were) to their adversaryes. The first tryal of the House was by the question some days since whether they should insert in their vote the words relating to the Peace of Europe, which was carryed in the affirmative. The

explanation of this came out more fully the day before yesterday, for at this time the high church party openly propos'd the owning the Duke of Anjou, but the proposall was rejected with so much scorn, that it came not to the vote; but instead of it they voted what you see in the prints of uniting with the Dutch in measures for the common safety of both nations, and, had not the Court stopt it (a thing miraculouse,) it had gon further, so as to have exhorted the King to all manner of strict allyances with the Dutch for the same good ends, and in opposition to the power of France. But a minister of state (Sr Charles Hedges the Secretary, who was also an active minister under King James in the Ecclesiastical Court, &c.), stood up and signifyed to the House that no more was asked or desired than to perform that particular Treaty mention'd in the memoriall, so the vote of the House went no further. In the mean while, tho' all the power of the Court was used to damp the spiritt of the House, every thing was spoken and carryed highly against France, and with the greatest respect and affection imaginable to the interest of

Holland, notwithstanding the inveteracy of the Tory party.

And now pray see the vertue that is still left in this nation, were we under an Administration to exert it. Here was a Parlem^t^ dissolv'd with all the disadvantages on earth, to ruine the country party, and a new one call'd under a new ministry in the most fatal conjuncture imaginable, and with all its arts and corruptions set on foot to ruine us, and gain a Parlem^t^ fit for this treacherouse ministry, friends to France and King James; the King himself not awak'd, but still managing with the same Ministers who openly side with France and favour the Jacobite interest; yet, notwithstanding this, wee have strength enough in the Parlem^t^ to carry every question against the Toryes (who have had the forming of this Parlement), against the Ministry (who are Tory, and have been lately popular for opposing the Court), against the Court, and even against the King himself, whilst he is thus against himself. Never Parlem^t^ was more ready to do for him to the utmost, and if he be resolv'd to do for himself, and put himself out of French hands, he has all England with him, but what he intends

God knows; who alone truly knows the hearts of Princes.

My kind remembrance to friends, and to all yours. I am as ever. There are many difficultyes in that list you desire of me, but I will see what is possible.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, Feb. 27th*, 1701-2.

I have wayted sometime in expectation of that letter and concern which was to come to me by Mr. Sommars' hands, but as yet I have not seen him, and now can no longer keep silence, having so good an account to give you of what pass'd yesterday in the House of Commons.

It was a Committee of the whole House, so that the chief resolution, which was in the negative, and so thrown out, will not be reported to the House, and is therefore not printed in the Votes. It will be necessary for you to know, in the first place, that last Thursday was sennight the malignant party, having gone into a Committee upon the privileges of the House of Commons, as a handle

to begin by, did, without any great opposition, carry three resolves against the matters that were asserted in the late pamphlets, particularly that of "Jura Populi Anglicani," which that party were highly provok'd by. Having done this, they then proceeded to an attempt against the more publick voice of the people, viz^{t}, the Addresses, and by one vote would have cut off at once the antientest and greatest of the English priviledges by the question which they long insisted on, viz^{t}, "That the promoting of any Addresses to his Majesty, advising him to dissolve a Parlement, was seditious," &c. After this, had they carryed this, they were to have fall'n upon all those brave instructions and advices given to the Members newly chosen, which you have heard of and read; for this they threw at furiously in their debates. But they were farr from carrying this question, and seeing plainly that their strength failed them, they withdrew their question, not daring to putt it, as we would have had them, and could have forc'd them after so long a debate, but that they found way to break up the Committee abruptly and so sav'd themselves. This occasioned our side to demand that, against the

next Thursday (which was yesterday), the same Committee of the whole House which had an instruction to consider of the priviledges of the House of Commons, might also have instruction to consider as well of the priviledges of the Commons themselves and people of England. This gave a check to them; and the party then pretended they had enough, desir'd our friends to forbear, and promis'd on their side that they would attempt nothing further. But yesterday, the House being come into the Committee appointed, that party most treacherously began the whole matter of the impeachments, and brought on this question, "That the House of Commons had not right done them in the matter of the impeachments in the last Parlement."

This was debated from noon till 8 at night, and that party in full assurance of carrying their point, and involving us anew in confusion, engaging both the Houses in a new quarrell, and setting the whole nation in a ferment; but they lost their point in the fullest house that ever was known, they were 221, and we for the negative 235.

But after our friends had carryed this question,

they thought it fitt to turn the enemyes' cannon upon them, and accordingly they pass'd the two other affirmative Votes (which are printed in the Votes of the House as theCommittee's) viz. "That it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition for the calling, sitting, and dissolving of Parlements:" and, "That it is the undoubted right of all the subjects of England, on all prosecutions, impeachments, as well as others, to be brought to a speedy tryall."

Mr. Harley (who in the Committee was as a private Member, and not as Speaker,) betrayed his passion, and shewd that private animosity and revenge prevaild over all other obligations (I am sorry to say it), and even over the assurances he gave to us his friends, to the King, and I believe also to many of you abroad, who have heard of his engagement to lay aside all resentment, and let the matters of last year sleep.

This behavior of Mr. Harley extremely troubles me, for he looses all reputation and trust among us, and is as one desperately engaged in another party. 'Tis he and he alone that wounds us; for all the strength of the Tories or Church party is nothing,

but by that force which he brings over to them from our side; so that joyning with the western corner (Cornwall and Wales), where unhappily there is such an over proportion of Members, he brings us to these extremityes. But God be prais'd we are getting throw our difficultyes. There is a mighty pretty scheme of this disproportion of our representatives which I send enclos'd as a curiosity in a letter by this post to Mynheer Paats, who lately wrote to me. Pray my most humble service to him, Mr. Van Twedde, and other friends, and believe me yourself to be to you and y^{rs} a faithfull friend and servant.

MR. FURLEY, *London, March* 18, 1701.

I receivd yours in answer to my arguments against the project of a new Partition, and I am glad to find your sentiments agree with mine. I think there is nothing plainer under heaven, if the world are unable to master France, and tear Spain out of its hands, France must be master of the world, and, whatever the King of France may part

from at present, to hinder the world's uniting at first against him, when he has by this means, and by a treacherouse peace, made sure of Spain itself, he will soon fetch back the rest; and with it the rest of Europe into his power. This all men must soon be convinced of, and is what gains in England, and I hope ere long will be the opinion of every man true to the Protestant interest and the liberty of mankind.

This day we have had a tryal of these sentiments in our House of Lords; wee having been sometime upon the consideration of the Partition Treatys, and framing an Address upon it to the King, in which we represent to him the wrong measures of that Treaty, but conclude against the perfidiousness of France; which broke even this Treaty so over-advantageouse to him. Our great debate was on these words to be added to the Address, "That it appear'd to us that the King of France had manifestly violated this solemn Treaty, and that on this account wee addressd his Majesty that for the future he would never treat with this King of France but with such caution as might carry with it effectual security;" which being objected against

as a declaring warr with France, and not treating but on the terms of a new King of Spain, it was so accepted on our side, and a Lord of yours, and my particular acquaintance, ownd it thus, and explain'd it his sense for sending back the young gentleman to Versaills, and bringing the Arch-Duke into his room, and that which was his just right. The Lords of the other party, finding themselves not strong enough to oppose this question, mov'd for adjournment of the debate, in which they carryed several Lords from us that were of our opinion. However, we carryed it against them 39 to 31, which is a full House of Lords; and the question itself we afterwards carryed with few negatives, and without a division. Immediatly after, the memorials of our two Ministers (the English and Dutch) to Mr. D'avaux were communicated to the House, by the King's order, as they were at the same time to the House of Commons, but both Houses referrd the consideration of them to a further day.

In the mean time, I can add nothing more at present, but my kind service to your good family, and my respects to all my worthy friends, to whome

you make any mention of me, or communicate any thing of these advices I send you, especially Mr. Van Twede, Mynheer Paats, and our two worthy friends at the Hague, when you see them. I enclos'd a long letter (a whole state of our affairs) to Mr. Hysterman in one to yourself last post. I hope it came safe.

I am your sincere friend and servant.

I mightily rejoyce at the good character you give of Harry Wilkinson. I pray God he may continue to deserve it, and the kindness both you and Mrs. Furley are so good as to shew him.

I return my hearty thanks to Mrs. Furley for her kind present: but it has happend unfortunately, that the ratts in the ship, knawing a hole through the barrells, eat up every thing within.

MR. FURLEY, *Aug.* 10, 1702.

When I heard from your son Ben of his arrival in town, I stop'd my hand and thought not to write to you till I had seen him here, which he gave me hopes of; but having heard a second time from him, and finding that I cannot expect him here yet awhile, I would not delay writing to you longer, nor be wanting in giving you and my friends an account of our affaires and new chosen Parlement, which perhaps may sit so soon that you may be surprized by their behavior, if you first of all are not appriz'd of their character: in which, however, I must be cautiouse, for, as times are now turning with us, we must take more care of our expressions than we were us'd. However, it is no treason to say, that that party whome the Court has favour'd, have obtain'd their victory in allmost all parts: by what means or practises, lawfull or unlawfull, moderate or violent, I will not say. The Justices of Peace, the Sheriffs, the Officers of all the Militia of Citys and Counties, with all the rest of the civil and military offices, were in the hands of the high church party, and the changes reserved to the very

instant of the elections, the more to strike a terrour and break the measures of those who, depending on some moderation, had not arm'd themselves nor the people they influenced, against such an attack of all those that were friends of the late Government, and lovers of the deliverance and deliverer. But how could all this be avoided? How should those who were truly friends to King William and his cause be able to support it and his memory at such a time as this, when it was but a year since, the last of his whole life, that ever he put himself into their hands, or gave them either credit or authority; but on the contrary, through all his whole reign, excepting only his last gloriouse year, having placed all his confidence on those who were true friends indeed to the Crown, but not to his Crown, did on all occasions sacrifice and deliver up those wretches call'd Whiggs to the fury of their enemyes; and even when he seemingly took them into his favour, as he did towards the end of the warr, which never had been ended but in a more fatal manner, had not necessity brought them into play, even then he more ruin'd them than ever, having only impos'd on them the load of taxing, with-

out the allowance of one act to make them popular; and at last when they, by acting for the Court had lost their credit, and their enemyes had gain'd esteem by acting contrarily, they were then discarded and delivered up after that their services had procur'd a peace, which being so perfidiously broken, and the treachery of the other party appearing so openly, it pleas'd Heaven to turn our King's heart, and to inspire him with the resolution of embracing his true friends, which he did, and found the effects of it, in being enabled to fix all his affaires abroad for the common safety: but not so as establish his friends' interest here at home, where those who were come allmost to trample on himself whilst alive might well be able to trample on his memory and friends after death. This we must peaceably submitt to and wayt the event. For most certainly the same party which was subdued in the last is two to one in the present Parlement.

There are two things may work for us; the first is their violence, which may alarm and awake the people, and "the people once awake, England is safe," is a tryed maxim. My friends abroad heard it from me some years since, tho' they could not

then see that England was not determined by a Parlement, but the event shew'd it; and when we had set the people right, we knew all would be so. But the people have now an opinfon that these men and this very Ministry will serve their turn, and carry on things abroad for their own honour, and pursue the warr vigorously. They have been the party that have of late years acted the patriot, and they have now purg'd themselves by the solemnest of oaths, the abjuration, and by their professing their zeal for a warr and against France. Now that they are, say they, in good hands, even you abroad are willing to think well of our Ministry. The expe-riment must be tryed; it may be dangerouse, but it must be tryed: if they shew themselves soon by their violence in any kind we shall soon be rid of them. The next hope is from their division amongst themselves: if they use their late friends (the Harleys and Foleys) ill, then all that party joyns again with those of the same principle, and we shall have our own. Upon the whole I am not disheartned, but rejoyce chiefly to hear so well of the cause of liberty amongst you. Farewell.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles, Nov.* 4, 1702.

I hope that before this reaches you, y^r^ son Benjamin will be safely arrived: who brings some letters from me to you and other friends.

My letter to yourself was but short; since your son, who came so lately from me, and was so kind as to stay some time with me longer than he first designed, was able to tell you all my thoughts of our public affairs, from which I am now much withdrawn, and must be more so, not only because of this season, in which it is not so proper for such as I am to act; but in truth because my efforts in time of extremity, for this last year or two, have been so much beyond my strength in every respect, that not only for my mind's sake (w^ch^ is not a little to one y^t^ loves retirement as I do), but for my health's sake, and on the account of my private circumstances, I am obliged to give myself a recess, which will have this agreeable in it, besides the retirem^t^ which I love, that I shall promise myself the happiness of seeing you in Holland; since you have been so long a coming to us, but are still so far from it, by what I can guess.

I have receiv'd y^rs of the 7th, y^r stile, enclosed in y^r son's, who writt me he was then about his journey to Harwich for the next pacquet. I was mightily pleased to read in yours of the generouse offer of a certain great Lord * to you for the preferring of some young man of y^r recommendation to his service in his great employm^t, nor was I less pleas'd to see how the young ladds receiv'd it when you read it to them, and methought I saw, as if I were present, their honest ambition and friendly emulation: but it is Harry's duty to wave his part, and I really think, by what I can judge by this first view, that in prudence, and according to best advice for their common interest, and the interest of each in particular, it is better that this favour should be for Mr. Arent; since being your own son, a kind of foster child too to Mr. Locke, my lord's great friend, he can enjoy the fruits of your recommendation and carry the force of your own and friend's interest with my lord much better than a stranger can do, or one whome I am, as perhaps may seem, but remotely concerned for. Besides that, as for any interest that I have myself w^th my

* Charles Earl of Peterborough.

lord, it is what I cannot much count upon, since this last year or two that he threw himself so eagerly into the Tory interest, and prosecuted both the impeachments and all those other fatal, obstructive, and unjust measures, with so much violence. He has now smarted for it, having been barbarously treated by that party he went over to, who sacrificed him last year in the House of Commons, where his son, though my good friend and pupil, never gave us a vote till about that time. My Lord is now come back to his original friends and principles, and those sores are all heal'd up, but how it may stand between myself and him I know not, as to his part, for great men are not so forgiving as we that are of a lower genius and meeker spirits; and indeed, as much as I honour him now and congratulate his advancement,* w^ch^ I do more heartily perhaps than any friend he has in the world, yet at that time I opposed him earnestly, and told him the treatment he would infallibly meet with at last from his new friends whom he then joined with.

I was going to have writt more, but I just re-

* To be Governor of Jamaica.

ceived notice that my Lord Portland,* being going throw our Country, is just coming hither to stay w^th^ me this night, so I shall not have time to add further.

It being King William's birth-day and landing, and we having just received the great and glorious news of burning the French fleet and galleons, we shall pass the evening chearfully, and I can with the more satisfaction honour and make much of my guest for never having had commerce with him till the days of his adversity; in which, for the sake of the common cause and love of Holland, I served and respected him to the utmost. I remain, yours faithfully.

Dues to all y^rs^, and to my worthy friends of your town, &c.

* William first Earl of Portland and K. G. father of the first Duke. "By the days of his adversity" Lord Shaftesbury probably alludes to his impeachment in 1701, for his share in the Partition Treaty.

TO MR. WILKINSON.

HARRY, *Chelsea, Jan.* 12, 1702-3.

I can easily excuse y^r^ failing to write to me when you are so well employed in y^r^ master's service. I thank God that I hear so good a report of thee, and I hope I shall never have the sorrow of hearing any thing contrary.

I was pleas'd when I heard of thy honest ambition, or emulation rather, in the case of going to the West Indies with L^d^ Peterborough, but then thou must remember w^t^ is becoming thee in modesty, considering thy circumstances and obligations to thy master, and that not in this case only, where a son of thy master's is concerned, but in all cases thou be ready and willing to give place in all things, and to all, and this is that Christian virtue which not only becomes thy youth and circumstances but will give thee respect and love, and raise thee in the world; for thus it is, that even in a worldly sense, that maxim of christianity is good, so that he who thus "humbles himself shall be raised;" as on the contrary, "he that raises himself shall be abased."

And, now, besides what I have said to thee here, if thou hast prudence, thou wilt find by what I writt in Mr. Furley's, which he read to thee concerning matters as they stood between me and L^d^ Peterborough, it had been no happy thing for thee to have gon, as on my acc^t^, being my recommendation and care: God grant it be, as I hope and trust it will, fully happy with Mr. Arent, who goes.

Thy present was kindly rec'd by my sister Hooper, who with all my family remember to thee, and I assure thee myself of being thy affectionate friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

I have had some of our country X^mas^ provision that has lain in the ships to go to Mr. Furley's these three weeks, but there is yet no convoy nor ship that stirrs, so I shall be forced to send for the pye away, but the brawn I hope will hold good.

Continue to write when thou canst. I hope it will be but few months ere I see you in Holland, where I think of coming to reside for some months in the greatest privacy, and rest me from the fatigues I have endur'd in the public affairs and business, w^ch^

have much wasted me and injur'd my health. God be with thee.

My kind remembrances to all y^r^ family, and to Mr. Benjohan, with thanks for his letter.

HARRY, *Jan.* 1702-3.

I received yours of the 10th, but what you writt some time since of your affairs pleased me much better. I am glad to see you forward and concerned for your interest and fortune, but there is that which is better than all the fortune or interest in the world, I mean your behaviour and conduct, w^ch^ I am much more concerned for, as much as I have bestowed on you, and as great pains as I have taken to enable you to rise in the world and be something.

But this is in a second place, and to be considered at a far distance, after the much more valuable possession I have named. I had rather at any time receive from you one sound proof of your honesty, fidelity, good nature, modesty, and humility, than a thousand of your ability, good fortune, and success, which yet, I trust in God, will not be wanting to you. But there is a double danger which young

men run in this world, for, after they have overcome base and virtuouse inclinations, and are found sober and temperate, there are other passions which are apt to gain upon them, and without great care their very industry and sobriety may become a means to injure them and blow them up; for a sober and industrious young man will find so many advantages in the world, and so fair a way open before him, that he is easily led to ambition, and to think too forwardly of himself. If there were any true preachers of christianity in the world, it would be found a chief point to putt men, especially young men, in mind of this, that they might know that after all other advantages and good qualitys, humility and poorness of spirit, to use our Saviour's words, were the noblest qualifications. 'Tis this that makes men meek, affable, and complyant, mindfull of their benefactors, and sensible of gratitude and duty to those whom they are owing to.

But as to your own particular affairs at present, 'tis true you have little business, as you say, now that this late misfortune befallen your master has taken of so much of his practice.

But it is your peculiar good fortune, for which

you have reason to bless God, that you are with a master whose good life and integrity, wisdom and virtue, love to mankind and his country, with many other eminent qualityes not to be found in merchants of our days, make him a better teacher and instructor to you than in any other way. If in other affairs you are not able to serve him as formerly, this is a time to shew your respect and deference for him in another manner, to seek instruction from him, attend upon him, and officiously serve him in every minute thing.

Advise and consult with him as to all relating to your fortune. If it be agreeable to him, or any kind of satisfaction or service to him, think not only of staying out your full time, but staying in Holland either with him or in any other circumstance as long as you are able to contribute the least to his or to his family's service.

As for my own part, I am just leaving the town, after giving my proxy in Parliam^{t}, and shall go to St. Giles's for the winter, and in the spring and summer shall be here again, and not at St. Giles's, as you imagine.

My eyes smart for this, and I can write no more, but my prayers for you and the good family.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, Jan.* 30*th*, 1702-3.

I have two of yours unanswered, which should not have been had I not found you understood our matters so right as that I need not explain them to you.

Your judgment about R. Harley is perfectly right. He is ours at the bottom. I cannot call him truly a man of virtue: for then he had not been lost to us by any disobligation or ill-usage, of which he has had sufficient. He is truly what is call'd in the world a great man, and it is by him alone that that party has rais'd itself to such a greatness as allmost to destroy us. 'Tis he has taught 'em their popular game, and made them able in a way they never understood, and were so avers to, as never to have complyed with, had they not found it at last the only way to distress the Government. But I believe there is hopes of gaining him. If he who has done so much to divide and break and ruine his own party and friends, will but do half so much to piece 'em up and unite them,

the thing will be easy, and the cause our own. This gentleman and others will then soon come over. God grant that *he* I mean may be so wise: there is hopes too of this: for great steps are taken, and we are bid to hope.

The Duke of Somerset is a Tory, and of a Tory family, and become a zealouse and hearty man with us: * and, indeed, all the Ministry hitherto taken in are of the very best.

What you enquire of concerning my brother's † choice you will allready be resolved in if you ever read the Votes, where you will find that he made his choice to serve for Wiltshire, being chosen both there and at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, which chuses four members.

Our good friend Lord Peterborow was by the treachery and malice of the Tory party censurd yesterday in the House of Commons, for which he is the less pittyed, because he last year joynd so much with that party, and in the impeachment and

* Charles, the sixth and "proud" Duke of Somerset, the new Queen had made her Master of the Horse, and he retained that post throughout her reign, until 1715.

† The Hon. Maurice Ashley.

prosecution of his brother Whiggs, for which his new friends the Toryes have well repaid him. But I thank them for the example: not only for setting my Lord Peterborow right (for this fixes him ours), but for shewing all those of our party who temper with them, what they have to expect.

The "Paradoxes" are printed, and I have sent one to you, with one to Mr. Hysterman (to whome I have writt this post), and one to Mr. Van Twedde.

I am often at a loss to send you any packet of that kind with dispatch: will it not be enough that I send it to Mr. Wright's in the city? for it happens that, when I hear not of a ship in some time (this lying not in my way), the things that I would send you growing out of date I wholly omitt them: and thus perhaps you will have one of those pamphletts long before mine come to you. I have sent you some of the Wiltshire advices, as deliverd by the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the county to my brother. My best services to all my friends, particularly your own family, and believe me to be

Sincerely yrs.

Mr. Mickelthwayt will write to you himself about his brother.

I receivd lately a present from Mr. Bayle of his Dictionary, for which pray return him my humble thanks. I shall do it myself in a post or two.

MR. FURLEY, *April* 30, 1703.

My eyes have been lately so bad that I have scarce writt a letter this month, and not being willing to make use of any other hand to you but my own, I must be short tho' I have much to say.

I rejoyce to hear Mr. Benjohan recovers by the use of the bark. If he purges in any time afterwards (as it is convenient to take physick), he must take some more of the bark a few doses; else the purging brings back the ague, which is the thing that makes people say the bark cures but for a time, for by taking physic without this caution the ague often returns.

I receiv'd y^rs^ of advice of Bill of £20 sterling drawn on my servant, which he has paid Mr. Limborch. I have receiv'd also yours of this last post but one, that brought us the welcome news of the French being repuls'd; but we are alarm'd this

last post with news of a new attack on Count Prosper of Fustenberg, who I hope will give them the same reception. The good news has operated strangely in our Court, and broke the treacherouse measures that are feard in some of the Ministry, who were believ'd fully to depend on the success of the attempted junction with Bavaria, and so terrifying the whole empire bring on a sudden peace. The Emperour to have the dominions in Italy annex'd to him, the Elector of Bavaria the Spanish Netherlands with a Kingly title; and so Spain, West Indies, &c. to be left with the Duke of Anjou, and consequently the whole world in a little time more in the hands of France. This far more fatall second Partition Treaty was suppos'd to be supported at the Court of Vienna by Count Mansfield (an imperial Tory), as well as by those of the same kind in our home Ministry. But the Queen herself without advice of Councill (and against the inclination as is thought of some there) sent to the Tower to have the guns fir'd, and to the City to have the bells rung on this gloriouse news; and express'd reall joy when more than half her Court were said to have sad looks. It was said publickly

at a coffee house by an officer at Court, that a great man had obstructed the Treaty with Portugal, and had said in Councill that it was unlawfull to send aid to the Sennes, who were rebels. This is now the talk of the town, and, the great man having complain'd of this discourse, the other officer is like to loose his place. 'Tis hop'd by all that love the common cause, that the King of Portugal comes in upon the right and true foundation, offering to receive the Archduke as King of Spain, and conduct him to Madrid if we will bring him over. Count Wratislaw they say is gone about this to Vienna, and Mr. Methuen returns to Portugal. God grant this be so. I have left no room to speak of myself, and in time I hope to see you and friends. I have a match in hand for a sister which will detain me some time; our law affaires being as you know the most dilatory in the world. Dues to all friends, so farewell.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, June* 11, 1703.

I forbore several posts since yours in answer to my last, wayting till I might tell you something positive concerning my coming over to you; which I now can: for the affairs which hinder'd me this spring being now for the most part over, I shall only stay this month out, and in the next, I trust Providence, I shall be with you.

Therefore I propose to myself to say little to you by letter in this interval, except with relation to my abode with you, w^ch^ I must entreat the trouble of you to help to make convenient and private for me; for tho' I wish for your sake chiefly to be in the town of Rotterdam w^th^ you, yet as it is the most public place and common landing and passage of the English, so it will be the hardest for me to be private without great care.

In the next place I must have regard to my health, w^ch^ I have mightily impair'd by my fatigues in the public affaires these last three years, and am now as bad again as when I retired for respite, and recovered myself by my last retreat in Holland; the air of Rotterdam is happily as good or better

than any, but that I speak for is to get into such a lodging as I might be warm in the winter time, I being not able to make use of stoves, for which reason my chamber should be the closer to be well warmed in the winter by the fire only.

I lik'd both my lodging and every thing very well where I last was, but perhaps that is gone; if not, then the same room will do perfectly well, only, the light not being so good for reading in the room I lay in, I must hire me both that and another at the other end of the passage, w^ch^ I made use of sometimes. Now, if this lodging be gone, I would intreat you to seek out for a lodging and board for me amongst some good quiet people, either French or Dutch, and I should be glad to be nearer to your quarter: provided it may not be so near or in so publick a place as easily to be found by those who see me at any time come to your house, where I may sometimes meet a friend, but except yourself and family will entrust no person to come to my own lodging, by w^ch^ rule I kept myself so easy and private the last time.

The last thing, and the chief that I shall beg of you to look after for me, is a servant. He whom I

had with me last is married and keeps a shop. I have no other that speaks any language but English, so I must take a new one; I shall bring a youth with me who will serve me very well in my chamber, but for all necessarys, and for help and attendance abroad, buying things for me and the like, I should have one that knows some thing of ye language of the country, and French very well. Whether this be a Dutch or a French servant is indifferent to me; and all the qualifications I want are sobriety and faithfulness; for shaving my English servant will serve me. I shall be willing to give ever so good wages, but for a good servant, that were faithful, and any poor honest fellow that had no ability in any common way of service wou'd serve my turn. So that I should hope you might easily find some such amongst the French, or any other; and, if you could, I should be willing you would secure him, by giving him any allowance you think fitt from this time till I come over. Thus you see I trouble you freely with my necessityes, and begg to hear from you the soonest. I hope Mr. Benjohan recovers. Dues to all yours and my friends. I am faithfully yours.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, June* 25, 1703.

This is only to give account that I rec^{d} y^{rs}, and to thank you for the pains you have been at to get me a lodging, servant, and conveniences. I hope you have fix'd it for me ere this, the lodging especially, for I should be glad to come thither upon my landing, since either at a public house or in yours, were I to stay but a night or two, I might be more lyable to be found out by those who might afterwards make me uneasy; for I must be more troublesome in this concern of my privacy than I was last time, by so much the more as I have made myself more known in the world, and have acted a more publick part, which will place a great many eyes upon me that will seek for mystery where there is none, and think my retirement rather a pretext than a reality, as a certain party of men have already represented it to our superiors on a talk which it seems the suspicion of it has occasioned.

I shall be much oblig'd to Mons. Boyd if he can find me such a servant as you describe, of known fidelity, and I should be very glad to eat with such a person as you mention'd in the last of y^{r} three

proposals: I leave you to determine for me; I desire of all things a retir'd private and quiet family, and such a one may very well receive me, tho' my outward character, and the common notion people have of one of my rank, gives but an ill impression.

I shall see few persons besides yeurself and family; and no other whatsoever at my lodging. I shall trouble a house with no more than one servant, for when I have put my servt, whome you are to take for me, into the way of serving me, I shall, in a fortnight or little more send back my English servant whom I bring over with me. I am now only thinking of a safe and good convoy, fearing nothing so much as falling alive into French hands; therefore should lay hold of any vessel of war, English or Dutch, where I was sure at least of making good resistance, and this, I think, is harder to find on our side than yours, for our Admiralty affairs grow every day so much wors, as yours I hope grow better since the vacancy of a Stadtholder,* which God of his mercy long continue, as well as that happy success so remarkably

* By the death of King William the Third.

appearing ever since that time, and of which your last letter of advice of forcing the French lines is a sufficient proof. Excuse the haste of this, and let me hear from you, I entreat you, concerning my lodging, board, and servant, if you have agreed it. So with my respects to friends, and chiefly to yourself and family, I remain, as ever, y^rs^.

All my friends, especially Mr. Micklethwayt, remember to you.

TO MR. ARENT FURLEY.*

MR. ARENT, *St. Giles*, 18 *Feb.* 1704-5.

You have made more than amends for your silence of late, by the length of your kind and ingeniouse letter, and I must now remain your debtor; being as yet unable to write above a line or two. I have had another relapse of my feavour by venturing abroad, but it has been nothing near its former violence, and by its going off thus gradually

* Arent was Mr. Furly's second son. He went with Lord Peterborough to the West Indies in 1702-3; and in 1705, as his Secretary, to Spain, and died in that expedition.

and allowing me time to get strength, I have reason to hope a perfect recovery, my eyes only remaining troublesome. I entreat you on this account to excuse me to your good father, to whom I am indebted for two late ones. There is no need of yr troubling yourself about sending that imperfect book; pray keep it yourself, and if I can one time or other get you a perfect one, you may destroy that. Your correspondance with that ingeniouse gentleman, who seems truly very fair and candid, must be very improving to you, and I should think you would do extremely well to continue it. Whatever you communicate to me at any time, will still be very agreeable, as it has been very much hitherto; yr argument for the antients is a noble one.

'Tis liberty, indeed, that can only polish and refine the spirit and soul as well as wit of man. 'Tis liberty that exalts him to manhood, and makes him differ more from the slave, than the slave differs from the beast; and when he has felt and is conscious of this advantage, he will know this difference, not before. And therefore to persons of a certain nation (I mean France, which is of all

others the most corrupt in this sense) you will hardly find this argument understood; for, whatever flashes may now and then appear, I never yet knew one single French man a free man. Nor do I think it in nature possible, if they have early sucked that air, or been bred, tho' in foreign nations, amongst people and books of their own kind. How few even of Englishmen, or, w^ch^ is more strange, of Hollanders themselves, that truly feel this principle! But try our honest young Polander,* and you will find him staunch I believe. He is just got into the antients, having first tryed the moderns and been prepossessed nevertheless I believe, without partiality to you or me, he will decide in our favour. But I have over-writt myself, and can add only that I am y^rs^,

SHAFTESBURY.

* Mr. Crell, mentioned in a subsequent letter as studying at Cambridge, and the writer of the account of Lord Shaftesbury's death, which will close this correspondence.

TO MR. FURLEY.

St. Giles, 24 *Feb.* 1704-5.

I have still deferr'd returning you an answer, in hopes of my eyes being stronger, but they still continue weak, and I dare not write above a line or two, and that without any great application or intension of sight.

I have had a late relaps; but nothing in comparison to those I had before, which makes me ready to presume on a recovery at last, and that I shall escape a consumption, into which my feavour and impair'd lungs had just carried me.

Whenever there is the same occasion and parallel circumstances with that you mention to me of Mr. Stockdale, there shall not be wanting the same example, if I am then alive; for I know no better use of life than to spend it for one's country and for mankind; and better all at once (if the occasion be) than piece-meal, for so mine has gone; but things must be proportioned; and, as profuse as you would seem to be of honest lives in this cause, I cannot but fancy such a scarcity of them, that

whilst I count my own of the number, I must think of managing it for the publick the best I can.

This I can assure you, that, if I thought it of no use to the publick, I should not be at the pains I am at of preserving it; for I was never very fond of life at any time, much less of preserving a weak and sickly one as mine perhaps for the future may prove. God be thanked you yourself hold up so well, and that all your family are so. If I had no public reason to wish your prosperity, that of private friendship would be sufficient to make it of chief concern to me, being, as I am,

Your most sincere and hearty friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

I entreat you to return my humble services to those friends you mention, who have been so kind as to remember me.

The Parlem^{t} being near up, I expect Mr. Micklethwayt and other friends down in the country with me. We have lost the noblest, greatest youth of England, my Lord Huntington,* just dead

* George, eighth Earl of Huntingdon, who had succeeded his father Theophilus (a great Jacobite), May 30, 1701, died Feb. 22, 1704-5.

of the small pox, a great grief to all our friends and all that loved our cause. Enclos'd is a letter wch I beg you to forward to Sr Rowland Gwinn at Hanover, by sending it enclosed to the Baron ..... the Hanover envoy at the Hague.

St. Giles, March 7th, 1704-5.

I receivd yours with the enclosd from Monsr. Le Clerc, to whome I had just before writ as full an account as I was able of Mr. Locke from the time of his coming into our family. If you find not the Treatise of Education in the number of books which Mr. Coste, it seems, makes mention of, which were of Mr. Locke's writing; it is (I suppose) because he had put his name to this, and Mr. Coste speaks only of such books as Mr. Locke had owned to be his in his will, but which had not his name to them, nor were publickly ownd by him.

I am much concernd for the continued ill treatment and injustice you have met with in your law-suit for Mrs. Furley; and I should be more so if I

thought this last blow irrecoverable. Law is in all countryes a heavy lott. I am sorry it has been yours so long: and if I can hope no further for you, yet at least I hope you will be out of pain at last, and that one way or other it will be decided, for dilatory justice is many times wors than dispatching injustice.

I wonder you should have been so long without hearing from Mr. Micklethwayte. He often makes mention of his letters to you and family: and I wishd him to write the more because of my incapacity and distance, that he might give you account of affaires from the center of buisness.

He intends shortly to take a turn down to me here at St. Giles's, where I have hithertoo been very solitary: the Parlement and publick affaires keeping my friends in town, and my indifferent state of health having hinderd me from being very pressing with my friends to visit me, whilst I was so little fitt for any company.

But I thank God I recover very much; tho' by very slow degrees; and once again I am liked to be saved from a consumption: being now, as they

say, "got up March hill," and the fine season contributing much toward my strength.

But my strength of eyes is not such as to venture much on long writing: so with my kind services to all your family, and return of services, with many thanks, to such friends as are so kind as to remember me, I remain, as allways,

Yr faithfull friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

TO MR. ARENT FURLEY.

MR. ARENT, *St. Giles, May* 9, 1705.

I recd yours and your father's enclosed. I heartily rejoice at his recovery, as I do at your success and present station in the service of yr country. I doubt not but you will worthily acquit yourself. You will, however, have need of all your natural goodness and acquir'd advantages of education, to keep yourself sober and vertuouse in so dissolute an age, so debauch'd a nation, and in particular so debauch'd and corrupted a part of it as that

wherein you are about to make y^r entrance into the world. Time was when the fleet of England was both mann'd and officer'd by y^e soberest and most religiouse sort of our countrymen; but of late days our fleets, especially when in harbour, have presented us with the shamefullest scenes of luxury and riot.

God keep you from y^e contagion, and preserve you your vertue in spite of example, for you will have none on the side of vertue, but all contrary, and you must live upon the stock you have had before. None had ever better examples in relations, parents, and friends than you have had; none of your degree had ever greater or better helps from learning, convers, and all other parts of a happy education, for w^ch you owe so much to your good father.

These advantages are incumbent on you, and would make your change more shameful were you capable of changing from a sober and vertuouse course, to one more like that part of mankind you are to come amongst. But such ingratitude, I dare pronounce, is far from you; and you will too well remember what is owing to your self; this alone being sufficient to make you keep your character and good life.

And let me so far put you in mind of the antients and their morality, as to warn you once for all of their great foundation and chief maxim: that all that is noble and generouse, the love of one's country, of mankind, all noble and virtuouse actions, in short virtue and honesty itself, has rise, progress, health, strength, and safety, in the moderation and restraint of our appetites; that is to say, in temperance and sobriety. If you have this fortitude I doubt of no other in you, nor of any thing else to make you a considerable man; but it is fortitude indeed, and the highest kind, to resist the torrent of ill example.

In spight of my ill eyes I have scribbled thus much to you. All services to your father and friends on the other side, which with all manner of good wishes for your prosperity concludes this from your hearty friend and humble sert,

SHAFTESBURY.

I would desire you to take the first opportunity to send that fragment of a book to Mr. Coste hither, taking no notice of me, but letting it fall to him in a negligent manner. He will shew it me no

doubt, and I will keep it for you and return it, if I procure you not a better, as I hope. If you send what I mention to you hither to Mr. Coste, you will first give him notice of it in a letter, as by the by, and as in consequence of y^t^ curiosity you expressed to him some time since; and if you know no other way to send it you may have it left at Chelsea, to be sent with any of my things, which are sent every now and then, or at S^r^ John Cropley's, to be sent hither with any of his things, he being now with me, together with Mr. Micklethwayt, for part of the summer, and it would be a great pleasure to us to see you here would affairs permit; meanwhile you have all services from hence.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles, July* 23, 1705.

I rec^d^ both yours with the signal good news of our forcing the lines, which will be followed, I hope, by a good harvest of conquests on that side. We expect every moment news of our fleet, from

whence good news will be of double satisfaction to us in particular, because of our friends concerned.

I am glad Mr. Arent took well what I wrote to him at Portsmouth. If he escapes these temptations I doubt not but Providence will be favourable in all else, and you will see him returned safe to you, after an honourable expedition and an honourable part in it, for pen men and swordsmen run equal hazards, as I take it, in sea expeditions; tho' there may be much of this land service only, especially if it be Cadiz, as it is reported and believed.

But my bad eyes, the only slow part of my recovery, will not suffer me to enlarge upon any thing.

I had already congratulated, and do again with great heartiness congratulate our friend Mr. Vrooson's advancement, and the honourable manner of it. I beg my remembrances and congratulations to the whole family.

You and yours have all kind remembrances from us here. Mr. Micklethwayt talkes of going to the Bath for his legg.

He writes to you himself in a post or two. I believe by the time this reaches you, Mr. Crelle, the

young man whom your son Arent made me acquainted with, and whom I have since taken care of, will either be with you at Rotterdam, or have writt to you about his coming over to England, for his year is near up which I destin'd for his studies at Leyden, and I wou'd now have him come over to see me, that I may judge of his progress and give him further instructions, as also the helps of our Universitys, where he may also learn our language, and make further progresses ere he comes into my family to live with me and be serviceable to me in the way of letters and writing, now that my eyes are like to prove weak for the rest of my life. He has several books for me which I wou'd willingly should be sent over to me before hand, that he may be discharged of the trouble of bringing them, since it will be a hard shift enough for him to bring himself, being such a stranger, and without any thing of the language. I must get you to think of the best convenience for him, either by some friend going over in the pacquet, or by some master of a ship with a good convoy, remembring also a Spanish or French pass for him, he being a Polander and neuter, so easy to be ob-

tained. I desire you to give him some letters of recommendation as taking no notice y^t^ he has or hopes for any friend besides in England. With all kind wishes to you and yours,

I end as ever, &c.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsey, Sept. 4th,* 1705.

I have been come hither this fortnight from St. Giles's, to which place the enclosed was sent to me, so that I receivd it only time enough to send by this day's post. Wee are in great pain to hear of the expedition: and, as many friends as I have in it, your son Arent's interest adds considerably to my concern; for, if success attends this great and decisive affaire, he will have the suddainest and most advantageouse coming into the world that ever any young man had.

Wee are in great jealousyes of a peace carrying on: and that the ambitiouse designs of some great men push them to raise disturbance between England and Holland on any pretence, the better to colour the ill terms they have made for us.

'Tis really the buisness of some people at Court to raise all the ill apprehensions they can of the allyance, and to magnify the advantages of France; when at the same time I am satisfyed we are offerd any terms from France which is much lower than we imagine. But Courtiers have their misteryes, and this is now a very great one, that our Court should be willing affaires abroad should look ill. But curse be on those who now do all they can to blow the coals between England and Holland, and make this misunderstanding to be a ground of giving such terms to France as may keep Europe still in terrours, and England under the pretended necessity of a standing force! God give us eyes to see through those misteryes of iniquityes!

My affectionate remembrance as I intreat you to my good friends; my health, I bless God, is much restord, but not my eyes. Mr. Crelle is with me; and with the rest of mine sends all respects to yours, as does with true affection

Yr faithfull friend.

Chelsea, Sept. 11*th*, 1705.

The enclosed is for Mr. Le Clerc (which I beg you to direct and forward), and with my bad eyes I have but little strength left. I receivd your notice of the bill for Mr. Wright, and I payd it him the next day.

I rather congratulate than condole your poor sister-in-law's release from her miserable state of life. I hope you will bring your wishes to effect, and that we shall have the happiness of seeing you here now the great obstacle is remov'd.

I writt to you a few posts since, and our prospect from Spain is still better and better. But God keep us from a treacherouse peace, to which end I fear all this dust is rais'd, and these mutual complaints between the nations.

If we get over this conjuncture I hope the warr will go on with fresh vigour, and when I think to what danger those Ministers expose themselves here who shall venture upon a peace at this time, I am apt to hope that these measures will be broken, and that setting ourselves heartily to the establishing Charles the Third, we shall soon distress France to

that degree that it will hardly be in the power of treacherouse Ministers to make a bad peace.

My friends, who I thank God are all well, (with Mr. Crelle, who is now in my family,) give kind remembrances to you, as does yours affectionately, &c.

I beg my humble services in particular to all my friends who enquire of me.

TO MR. ARENT FURLEY.

MR. ARENT, *St. Giles, Decem.* 5, 1705.

Your former and latter advises, first of the successfull attack, and next of the surrender of Barcelona, with the whole progress of your councils (w^ch^ Heaven has blessed so happily for England and Europe) were of all news I ever rec^d^ the most welcome.

To hear that you were safe and well, together with this public success, was cause enough of joy to me. But what I have heard of you by others, is over and above, for to hear as I do of your excellent behaviour, diligence, industry, and success in business, is a pleasure that none besides your

good father can perhaps so sensibly be moved with as I am, since it has been no small concern to me from your childhood to bring you to act such a considerable part in the world as I always thought your genius capable of. And now I see my hopes and endeavours answered. Mr. Stanhope and others give you a deserving character, and the business you have upon you shews what you are capable of.

And now, Mr. Arent, let me intreat you, as you are more and more a man, to take me more and more as a friend; and, tho' I may appear still like a master or pedagogue to you, by admonishing you as I shall often do perhaps, yet consider I am not one of the severe sort.

If I talk of vertue to you, 'tis not the vertue priests talk of. Pleasures that are taken moderately and with injury to no man, are often better essayed by youth than wholly abstain'd from, for experience in such cases is to a good genius many times the best help vertue can have, and pleasure thus used becomes less considerable, and less an obstacle in the way of a good and generouse mind that has liberty, society, and mankind in view, and

that loves an honest fame and the love of friends and country beyond the obscure and mean pleasure of a night's debauch, in which every dull sot and insignificant drone is as considerable and as happy as the man of best sense, ability, or courage.

However it be, I am satisfyed you were none of those who gave occasion to the Viceroy to throw that odiouse reproach upon our nation, "that he was besieged by 7000 drunkards;" and I rejoice to hear the newspapers compare the continence of some of our Generals to that we have so often read together of Scipio Africanus. But if that other reproach were just, and I hope it was not, I must be forced to suspend my belief as to the truth of this latter encomium; for, as you have often read at school, *quid non ebrietas designat?* I could believe the latter vice without the former, but not the former without the latter.

But I must not pretend to engage in a letter: for what I write is but a scrawl, a line or two in such sorry manner as my eyes will bear, for tho' I gradually recover from my long feavour, which yet returns now and then upon me, my eyes are still exceedingly weak. But, as long as I have any, I

shall always be provok'd to use them whilst I hear well of you; nor can I forbear praising you, exhorting you, and putting you in mind of what we have studdyed together, those noble examples of vertue and love of our country, which were treasured up by you against this season, and now to be practis'd and brought in use. And since I have play'd the pedant already in this I have writt, I will end the same, and bragg of myself as well as of you in the words of one of our antients, for I may say as well as he, "Cresco et exulto, & discussé ægritudine viresco, quoties ex his quæ agis et scribis, intelligo quantum te ipse super grederis. Si agricolam arbor ad fructum producta delectat; si pastor ex fætu gregis sui capit voluptatem; quid evenire credis his qui ingenia educaverunt, & quæ tenera formaverunt, adulta subito vident? Assero te mihi, meum opus es. Ego cum vidissem indolem tuam injeci manum, exhortatus sum. Addidi stimulos; nec lente ire passus sum, sed subinde incitavi, et nunc idem facio, sed jam currentem hortor," &c.

This is all I have to give you in return, for I am now retired into the country after the first week or two of Parlem^{t}, w^{ch} was as much as I could bear,

therefore for news I refer you to Mr. Micklethwayt, who is in town, but will, together with Sr John and other friends, be with me during the adjournment of Parlemt, and for a few days more, at Christmas.

They and all our common friends are well, and rejoice to hear so well of you. Mr. Coste is well settled in Mr. Clark's family, and your good friend Mr. Crelle, after having stayed some months with me at Chelsea, is gone to Cambridge for his further improvement. He answers your kindness and my hopes of him, and grows every day in learning and knowledge, as you on your side in experience and business; nor less, I promise myself, in worth, honesty, and love of your friends and country, to the joy of yr faithful friend, &c. Adieu.

When you are so kind as to write to me, direct always to Chelsea, for if I am here, the letters come as soon.

TO MR. FURLEY.

MR. FURLEY, *Hamsted*, 11*th of Oct.* 1706.

I have been lately so ill of my astma, by attempting to go to town and see some friends, that I have been forced to remove yet further off than Chelsey, which I am unable to bear at this time of the year when the great smoak of London begins, and the winds, as at this present, sitt easterly.

This morning therefore I came away from thence, and am now at a further distance north of London, being soon about to leave the neighbourhood of the town wholly, and go to my home in the West for the whole winter. But happily, last night, my Lord Sunderland came to me to Chelsey, where I had much discourse with him about the affaire you have lately writt me at large. He is extreamly well disposed, as all our Whiggs are, and our Ministry, which is in a manner wholly of that sort, and sincere wellwishers to the common cause and interest of both the nations. The difficultyes you know allready. 'Tis even uncertain yet whether the Whiggs and Court joining together have interest

enough to carry their main point in Parlement: viz. the Union with Scotland (without which we shall be in great confusion because of the Succession); much more is it uncertain whether they can recover such a past game as to alter the funds established by taking off dutyes, in a case where the other party will stickle to the utmost, with that very intent to embroyl us with Holland, and so putt a base and unhappy end to a gloriouse and successfull warr. I might well ask you, as I did, concerning my last great letter written in the beginning of the year to some friends of ours from whom I have not since heard, but intreat you to take no notice of it. My Lord Sunderland has been since in Holland and elsewhere abroad. He is a discerning man, and easily discoverd the weak part of our friends of the honest Commonwealth party. The sores and wounds I usd to feel with you on this occasion, when all ill news was magnifyd and all good decryd, all on the side of France extolld and all on our side diminishd, as a preparation for peace, the much desird and wishd for peace on any terms; these sores, I say, of mine which I usd to feel with such sad smart in Holland, bled nowafreshwith

the lively and too true relation of my Ld. Sunderland, and his description of the chief of those who pass for the Commonwealth party in Holland. "What (says he) can be more ridiculouse than for such as those to pretend a jealousy of our Court, as if they were concerning themselves, or woud be any way instrumental in setting up a Stateholder or any other power in Holland? what interest or what inclination can be alledg'd? or what facts produc'd? But shoud the same spirit grow every day more and more in Holland, so that it shoud come in a manner to be distinguishing, by one party's being plainly for a peace, the other for a warr, woud not this be the way to make us desperate, and joyn with any, nay even the worst of partyes, that shoud be for the continuance of the warr against those that were plainly working for peace and negotiating with France?"

For my own part I had nothing to answer to this but to soften and palliate as much as I was able. 'Tis miserable to think that after so much blood and treasure, and so gloriouse and speedy an issue of the warr as we may justly expect, that just at that instant we shoud start difficultyes, and give

our enemyes the fruits of our laurells. I am sorry I can write no more on this subject, but act I always shall to my utmost; nor do I repine at the ungratefullness of my task, which is always to oppose and displease my best friends. For, as in Holland I was always thwarting our jealous, backward, and faint hearted friends by assuring them all that was possible of good success from the right and honest measures of our Government and court (which every day grows better), so here I am acting the part of an advocate, and supporting, all that I can, the jealous fears and scruples of those friends of ours, and, that they may appear hearty in the warr and free from any engagements with France, I make even my own zeal questioned, at least my judgment in a great degree. But I care not whom I disoblige, nor what reputation or interest I lose in the world, if I can but in the least be the means of cherishing or preserving a good correspondence between the two nations and the lovers of liberty in both; for which cause I should joyfully sacrifice a thousand lives if I had them. At present I begg you woud excuse the disorder of this, for I write under the very pangs of my unfor-

tunate distemper, and am panting for breath, which I shall not be able to take in any degree of ease till I am further remov'd from this town. So with dues to all friends, chiefly to your good family, I remain your faithfull friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles', December 2d,* 1706.

I am again return'd hither into my distant west country; being unable to bear the town (as I was in hopes) till the opening of the Sessions of Parlement, which is now putt off so long, and little business like to be done till after Christmass.

I tried all that I cou'd, by changing places, to keep in the neighbourhood of London; but I only got a severe fitt or two of my asthma for my pains, and was forc'd to come away ill, but am now recovering again. I am glad, however, that I stay'd so long as to receive yours with our friend Mr. Boyd's and to communicate contents, as I did with good effect to some of the best of our great men.

I beg my thanks and hearty services to Mon^{r}

Boyd, whome I will not yet trouble with a letter, since he has forgott I believe most of his English, and I much unused of late to French. But when I have matter arising (as I shall soon have in all likelyhood) from his ingeniouse and honest thoughts communicated to my friends, he shall be sure to hear from me in such language as I can.

Our affairs in Scotland look very black. I believe the Union will go; but in such a manner as the nation I fear will severely feel. The best we can hope for is perpetual embroyl and distractions in our Parlement, and all other civil affaires, which in one age (I dare boldly prophesy) will not be appeas'd or brought into any tolerable posture, unless by a remedy more fatal than the disease,—I mean a warr and conquest, for, if it come to conquest *there*, it may soon prove conquest *here*.

God grant in the mean while that our common warr may, for the sake of mankind and safety of Europe, be carry'd on and push'd vigourously notwithstanding this hinderance; as I hope it will on our side, for hardly will our Court think of a dishonourable peace whilst they have such an affaire on their hands; and, having so fierce an enemy as

Scotland exasperated, they will endeavour the more to oblige, and strengthen themselves by Holland. Indeed it is but a sad prospect for either nation to think of the fair prospect France has of getting such a part of Brittain under the title of a new King, which, if the Queen's death at this instant shoud fatally happen, I scarce see how it woud be prevented, and what a blow this woud be to the Protestant Religion, as well as the generall interest of Europe, is easy to conceive. Nothing in truth but this happy allyance and the strong friendship between us and the Dutch can save this blow. Without it the Protestant succession and Hanover title even to either nation will be of little worth.

But I end with all remembrances to yours, and am as ever, y^rs^.

I shoud have told you Mr. Wright is paid, as I doubt not but you know allready.

I cannot as yet understand a tittle of that affaire of H. Wilkinson's, and the letters and correspondences hinted. I am wholly a stranger to all; and if said to be otherwise it is imposture and juggle. I hope he is not so false as to pretend he or any other has made me acquainted with what I know

nothing off. He is indeed but too vain, and talkative, and pragmaticall; tho' with abilityes and talents sufficient, if he woud well employ them. I have been at great trouble, and know not how to dispose of him, having been fouly disappointed by some who kept off of other advantages by false expectations for him. I have now left him to the wide world with a small sum and cloaths fitted out to take his fortune.

TO MR. BENJOHAN FURLEY.*

MR. BENJOHAN, *St. Giles', March* 8, 1707-8.

Being so true a sharer as I am and always shall be in whatever can be called a concern of y^r^ family, I cannot but take my part of satisfaction in what you have acquainted me relating to y^e^ prospect of a union between two familys I have so great an esteem for.

You have done me justice in making me your confident in your addresses to so excellent a young

* Mr. Furly's eldest son, and successor in business.

woman as surely she must be who has such excellent parents; and I wish I had interest to second your pretensions, I am sure my recommendations should not be wanting. Having ever observed you so industriouse and vertuouse a young man, I had no fears for you but of a wrong choice hereafter in these matters, and I spared not to express those fears to you, when last at S^{t} Giles, because, as I then told you, I looked upon this danger to be the greater for young men that were vertuouse and sober, who, allowing themselves no other liberties with the sex, and being innocent as to the practices of the undeserving part, were more liable to be imposed, on and to fix their affections in such a manner as interest and advice of friends could hardly overcome. But you have now so happily directed your choice that your affections cannot be too fixed, and you have nothing, I hope, to overcome but the ordinary difficulties of courtship, in which I wish you all imaginable success and happiness attending it.

If upon this occasion my humble service to Mr. and Mrs. Wright be seasonable, I begg you would present them for me with great heartiness, as I send them. All good wishes and kind remembrances to

Mr. Arent, and to your father and brothers when you write. I am both in Mr. Arent's and your father's debt as to writing. I hope soon to repay your father, tho' he intends so soon for England, but will dispense with Mr. Arent, or rather, I should say, give him quarter, since in this busy time of action and great affairs a country correspondent can be but very dull to one in town; I add only, that I am with great confidence and sincerity, good Mr. Benjohan, y^r^ truly loving friend and humble^le^ serv^t^,

SHAFTESBURY.

For Mr. Benjohan Furley, at
Mr. Wright's in Can'on Street,
Merchant, in London.

TO MR. FURLEY.

St. Giles's, March 26, 1708.

I have been this long time answering your long and kind letter, but, whilst our affairs stood in such suspence y^t^ a moment, one would have thought,

should have decided 'em, I held my hand. But still they are in suspence as they were, and now, Mr. Arent coming over to you, will save me ye trouble and danger of opening our scene of affairs to you. Meanwhile, tho' I have been resty in this part of writing to you, I have not been so in my endeavours, wth all my interest and yt of my friends, to serve you and your family; as ye affair of both your sons may perhaps witness for me. As to Mr. Arent I will only add, yt I think him ye most fortunate young man I have ever known; for, as to his happiness in being wth Lord Peterborough, I am contented the world should be judge as to ye merits of his Lord, and ye wonderful capacity and ability of such a leader and master; but for Mr. Stanhop * I can superadd, wt is far above all other virtues, wch yet are equal in him to any of this age, yt he is an honest man, whose integrity, probity, and strict morals, give him ye just esteem of ye truly greatest man and lover of his country yt has had ye honour to serve it of late years. He is free of all passion or

* Brigadier-General James Stanhope, afterwards the first Earl Stanhope, a character eminent first as a warrior, and subsequently as a statesman and Prime Minister.

byass, all partiality or resentm^{t}. From him you may be satisfy'd in all, and his words, or silence at least, if you question him on certaine subjects, will satisfy you more fully of w^{t} I vainly endeavour, at this distance, by letter. I am sure I have no partiality for those who are call'd our ministry, but I must do 'em justice, and I am sorry to say y^{t}, tho' they have great facility to have done much amiss in many things, they deserve far better of their country and of Holland, and particularly of their sovereain, than as they are at present rated by some, both here in England and with you. But enough. I mourn y^{e} loss of our great friend Mynheer Wellant. God grant there may be a succeeding race of public spirits in your part of y^{e} world. Faction and party affection eat us up and undo us here. None are so good as to suffer this country to be served by those who are disagreeable to them in a private respect. Their own merit is y^{e} only object they set before 'em. But tho' they have merit and y^{t} too very great, 'tis such a one as bids fair, under their managem^{t}, to destroy their country and mankind. Two great men and friends of yours and mine are of this number. I speak not this to jus-

tify y^t^ base envy of merit w^ch^ shews itself too plainly in their rivals. But y^e^ world is not to be ruin'd y^t^ their merit may be shewn in all its lustre. I naturally perhaps hate some persons who stand in his light, and have in proportion as great or greater disobligations to y^m^ than they have. But I sacrifice all resentm^t^ and disgust on this occasion, and should think myself unpardonable if I did not. But I must end, being as ever, y^rs^.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsey, Nov.* 3, 1708.

I have not this many a day receiv'd a greater satisfaction than in y^e^ reading your letter, and y^e^ account it brought me of your health and welfare. It would be strange indeed if so good and deserving a man as yourself met not with y^e^ utmost gratitude and kindness from relations; and yet as y^e^ world goes 'tis next to a miracle to see a true and hearty affection paid by children to parents, and chiefly to see a young daughter-in-law act such a part: but one might expect this from so good a family and education as her's. Were I capable of

envying (especially in a friend's case) how much could I envy y^e^ happiness of your son, who could gain a wife so educated, and under such good parents? How little of this kind is to be found in our nobility or gentry? nay even among our citizens, who, I think truly, are for y^e^ most part more sumptuous, proud, luxurious, and corrupt than either. So y^t^ I fear it will be my fortune never to be a father or continue my family, since my only brother (who might with better success, perhaps, try his fortune this way in a lower rank of gentry) refuses to think of marriage, and leaves y^e^ heavy part upon me;* w^ch^ I only call heavy on account y^t^ there are

* Lord Shaftesbury married, a few months after the date of this letter, Jane, daughter of Thomas Ewer, of Lea, in Hertfordshire, Esq.; by whom he left an only infant son, at his death in 1712-13. The Countess long survived, until 1751. His brother Maurice, who seems to have retained his ancestral name of Ashley (and is therefore erroneously called Cooper in p. 161), also afterwards married, Catherine, daughter of William Popple, Esq. but had no issue. Mr. Ashley made a translation of Xenophon's Cyropædia, which passed through two or three editions, and was much praised by his nephew Harris, the author of Hermes. There are two portraits of the Hon. Maurice Ashley at the family seat, both painted in 1702, one in a full shooting suit, with a gun in his hand, and boots, but a flowing wig on his head; and the other in a blue gown, with his brother the Earl.

so few of my own degree or of those circumstances yt can justify my marriage, who have any sort of education yt promises good. Thus you see in return to your kind and friendly imparting of your private affairs, which Providence has made so happy, I write with freedom of my own, wch, whatever they are, or are like to be, I thank God I can be satisfied with; and, tho' I long enjoy'd one of ye most firm and steadiest healths, and am now so far from it, especially when in or neare ye town of London, I am notwithstanding as happy as ever in myself, and can enjoy equally ye prosperity of my country and friends, tho' excluded ye same advantage of serving 'em, wch I did heartily whilst I was able. This comfort and this inward satisfaction and content is ye reward of such as, out of love to vertue and goodness, do all ye good they can, and spend their lives in this chiefly. For whether reward come as in your case Providence has order'd it, whether ye blessings of children, and those excellent ones, wth other acquisitions of new friends and relations, even in an old age, or whether it be ye contrary, as in ye case of ill health even in youth, and other misfortunes wch might cause others

to repine, it will not be so with ye man who never follow'd vertue for a bribe, either in this world or ye next; but who would do ye same again and again, tho' under a thousand misfortunes, and with no prospect further than ye satisfaction of friendship in itself, and befriending mankind as much as possible. So yt upon ye whole, tho' my case and yours are far different, I am not a less happy man nor less fitted to receive ye joy and congratulations in ye outward happiness and prosperity of such a friend as you are. And I rejoice too for ye sake of mankind yt yre is in being ye example of so good a parent, so well rewarded in children. I am somewhat concern'd for wt you write of Mr. Arent, because I heard he was grown so lean. But if he have rest (as he has had, perhaps, being left at Barcelona,) ye hot climate may do better for him than any place. I write no news from hence, our expectations being all from your side. Mr. Micklethwayt has been this month or two in ye North, but is returning. I am, as ever,

Faithfully yrs,

SHAFTESBURY.

My kind love and services to all yrs.

MR. FURLEY, *St. Giles, Jan.* 15, 1708.

I was extremely satisfyed with yours, which has given me an account of y^r^ health and the care of it, w^ch^ is now become so necessary. The satisfaction you feel in looking back on your past life, and viewing how Providence has bless'd you to see your greatest dangers over, your children virtuously bred up, and in a prosperouse way of business in the world, this, and what I hope I may add too, notwithstanding our late pullbacks, the good prospect of the age and the security of the Protestant Religion and libertyes of mankind on a happy foundation of good correspondence between the two nations of Brittain and Holland, the conductors of this great work, all this, I say, is a just subject for you to rejoice w^th^ yourself as conscious of the good share you have had in y^e^ promoting this public happiness, and how God has bless'd your honest endeavours in respect of y^r^ relations and friends: but I hope still y^t^ this consummation, which I own wou'd be a most happy one, were it to be final even *now*, will not however be a hindrance to you, or a slackening of your endeavours to preserve yourself

as long as possible for the same country and friends sake whom you have hitherto so worthily and successfully serv'd.

You are the more encouraged to this by that vigour of mind and spirits which God has bestowed on you in an extraordinary manner: so y^t your years, tho' they may bring more pains and difficultyes on your body, have no influence on your mind and better parts, which are likely to be preserved so for many years, if you do but support the outside frame: and even that too is so excellent in its kind, that w^th watchfulness and diligent application it may be long preserved. If such an one as you should neglect to bestow some pains in this respect, consider what it must be to one yet under forty (as I am by a year or two) who yet am forced to treat myself with more pains than you have need to do. My love of life was never very great; even when I had vigorouse health and was the most active in business, I never thought it a matter of difficult resignation. But with the pains and distempers I have of late years contracted, 'tis well I have a thought of duty to over ballance all discontent, otherwise I might soon fall into a certain negligence

of my health, wch in my state wou'd soon make my dismission, and send me out of ye world: but whilst I can have any share (be it ever so little) in the service of my friends, my country, or mankind, I can be contented with any life, any health, or any constitution ever so bad, and can live as happily thus as at any time of my life: rejoycing that my days of youth are well over, and that I have passed those temptations of a more florid age, wch might have thrown me far out of the road of vertue, and depriv'd me of those sentiments by which alone I can enjoy my friends or self. In the mean time it has pleas'd God, as remote as I have thought myself from business and a capacity of serving either my friends or country, to throw many opportunities across me, and to make even this scene of my life no narrow one in affairs of a public nature. All this last summer I had health enough to be about the town, and give some assistance to our best friends of greatest interest, and now in the winters that I am unable to approach London, I am employed in settling interests for the public in a part of Brittain where the most elections lie, and in a county where I have the chief influence.

After several years of the Queen's reign that I was ill treated and look'd upon with the utmost enmity by the Ministry, I am at last much better thought on: and they are nigh convinced that I have been no small friend to them, and unalterable by ill usage. For knowing, as I have done all along, that the Ministry, from the very first year of the Queen's reign, were at the bottom true to the interest of the common cause, and that of the mutual good correspondence between the two nations, I pass'd by all other regards, and apply'd myself to give them credit and honour both here and abroad with you in Holland, where I came so soon after the King's death. This you may well remember, by my conflicts with many of our mistaken Whiggs, and those who out of a false zeal arraign'd both L^d^ Marlborough and L^d^ Godolphin in the highest manner. And by the way I would beg you to call to mind one interview w^ch^ I had with Mynheer Van Wallant (at his own desire), where he himself first privately, and then others of note and interest publickly, sought to me to be well instructed of the real disposition and temper of our Ministry in those early days. They were persons who had long known

me, and (by y^r^ means and other friends whom I had lived so long with and known so intimately in Holland during the King's life) had received such an impression of me, and conceived such favourable thoughts as were above what I deserv'd. At this time I took the utmost pains (as you must well remember) to wash away all ill impressions of the Ministry, and assure Mynheer Wallant and the rest of the fidelity of our Ministry to the common cause, and their particular regard to the States, and y^e^ maintaining a good correspondence. 'Twas then I ventur'd to give such a character of L^d^ Marlborough in particular, as was wonder'd at by many, and often reproached to me till the battle of Blenheim, when I left you and came over for England.

You may remember too, even as early as the first post after the King's death, what letters of assurance I wrote, w^ch^ were thought fit to be translated and publish'd to confirm people's minds abroad.

You may wonder, perhaps, what all this means: that I should be thus enumerating my own merits, and looking back so far for my own commendations, but thus the case is: I have just lately experienced

some particular favours, and have rec[d] marks of such regard from our Ministry (I mean in particular our two great Lords) from whence I may be able, by improvement of my interest, to do some public service, that I am extremely willing to shew I do not ill deserve their complim[ts]. I am seldom behind hand in good turns with any body. But here I may truly say I have been before hand; and I should be highly pleased to shew them so much, tho', as matters stood before, when I was ill us'd, I had too much stomach, as they say, to let it be known how much I was in their interest, and by some silly mistakes of pamphlets written, and spightfull things dispers'd, I was really taken by them for an antagonist instead of a champion and stickler for them, as I had been abroad and at home.

I know not what acquaintance Mynheer Wallant has kept with our great Duke, but if they stand tolerably well together, and are upon conversing terms, I should be mighty glad if, when he comes over, a word or two could be dropt in discourse concerning me, and that Mynheer Van Wallant would only say as by chance, what idea I very early gave

him of our Queen and Ministry, and in particular of L^d^ Marlborough, both as to his minister and soldier capacity. The States are now, and have been long since, convinced of the sincere services he has done, and is ready to do them, and if nothing else had been able to convince them, the transactions in the House of Lords now lately might suffice; for the Ministry, and in particular that noble Duke, has been severely question'd by the malignant party, and inveighd against for being too much Dutchmen. Thank Heaven that our Ministry cannot by their worst enemys be reproached for being Frenchmen; and for that other reproach, I hope they will ever hold it honourable. I am sure it is one of the main reasons that makes me so much their friend.

I am sorry for the quarrel our friend L^d^ P. is engaged in with y^e^ Ministry;* but not so much with y^e^ Ministry (for they are rather neuters), as with our old Whiggs. He being more in the party

* The Earl of Peterborough's conduct underwent the strictest inquiry in Parliament; but at length, Jan. 12, 1710-11, the House of Peers voted, "That during the time he had the command of the army in Spain he performed many great and eminent services; for which he had the thanks of that House;" and the Lord Chancellor expressed himself in the warmest terms on the occasion. See Collins's Peerage.

of a certain Gent. a friend of ours,* who in a manner stands single, being broken from his old party, and equally hated by both.

'Tis the sad fate of human affairs that such divisions should happen. By this means not only the actions of many great men are unreward'd, and meet sometimes an undeserv'd and contrary return, but a whole nation too must suffer, and a good cause be depriv'd of able and successful hands to serve it. This may perhaps be our case, and we are not likely to see y^r^ friend Lord P—— employed again, as I could heartily wish. The breach is very great between him and all our other friends, Lord S——d† in particular, who in the affair of the Admiralty has carry'd himself extremely well, and shewn that no relation or private influence could byass him. I doubt not but Mr. Arent will carry himself with prudence in these difficultys, and understand how to be faithful and just to his master, without engaging in an invidiouse manner beyond

* Mr. Harley.

† Charles Earl of Sunderland had become Secretary of State, Dec. 3, 1706, and remained in that office until June 1710.

his province. I should have had his company here this Christmas, but for the new attack that is made against his Lord, and I should then have given him my best advice, tho', by what I hear, he acts so well that there is no occasion.

Our friend Mr. Micklethwayt is just now w^th^ me, and gives kind remembrances to you and yours, 'tis time to end w^th^ my own, w^ch^ you can never doubt of, as being unalterably y^rs^,

SHAFTESBURY.

I believe Lord P——'s enemys will gain little honour by their attack upon him, but rather add to his. I am sorry some of our friends should engage so warmly against him, and that by this opposition he meets with he should be forc'd to join himself with certain great men of the old Tory race of Charles and James's ministry, who are not only the greatest enemy's of our cause, but who in particular have the greatest hatred to him, and have formerly done him the highest injuries, as they will surely do again when once they have no further occasion of his interest, parts, and merits, to play against the

Court, w^th^ w^ch^ they are so much at variance, for no good reason you may be sure.

As for what I have writt concerning Mynheer Wallant, the affair, as you see, requires no hast, for the Duke is not like to come over very soon, but, if you find any easy opportunity, I wou'd not, however, that you shou'd neglect to use the first. It may be a means for me to do many good services; for oft times the greatest friendships are made from reconciled differences, especially where the differences have not been reall, but through misunderstanding only. I wish, if I have any interest, or come to have any w^th^ our Ministry, that I may have opportunities of representing matters aright, to prevent mischiefs that may arise from our ill understanding of the true interests of Holland, and from an ignorance of the right men, and honest cause there. I should be glad on this account hereafter to renew again my correspondence with some of our friends on y^r^ side; if any of them (viz. Mynheer Paats, or Van Twedde, or Flink,) enquire of me, be so kind as to acquit me with due respects, &c.

Pray be so kind as to continue your account of

y^e^ troubles in Guelderland, w^ch^, if ended, I hope are not altogether to y^e^ ruin or overthrow of y^e^ Commonwealth party.

MR. FURLEY, *Jan.* 13, 1708-9.

I had just left Chelsea, and was come to S^r^ John Cropley's in Surrey,* where I now am, intending to proceed on my journey to St. Giles, when I rec^d^ your first letter concerning the poor oppressed gentleman at Amsterdam. I thought to have writt fully and at leisure concerning that affaire, as soon as I reach'd my journey's end; but I was detain'd here, as I still am, by the very severe weather, which, if in proportion with you in Holland, I can't but be concern'd for your health, for I have much ado to resist it myself, even by keeping myself within doors and as warm as possible. Meanwhile I rec^d^ y^r^ second letter of despair in respect of the

* The family seat of Sir John Cropley was at Brandon, in Durham. Sir John accompanied the Earl in his travels, 1686, and was M. P. for Shaftesbury (see p. 163). There is a whole-length portrait of him, in a long gown, at Wimbourn St. Giles, and the present Earl is named Cropley after him.

poor gentleman, and indeed it would be but little service y^t^ I could hope to do him by writing in his behalf to persons with whom I have no correspondence of long time, and such too as I wou'd not trouble with any private concern, having reserved the little interest I have for the publick, and to do, upon occasion, some good office between the two nations for the common interest of liberty and mankind. I know too well that there are sore places in most of the particular Governments of your Provinces as well as towns. I am one who, out of love to common weal and the interest and reputation of free Government (besides my particular affection for that mother nation of liberty), wou'd do all I could to hide and conceal these blemishes, and cover the nakedness of our dear parents. And indeed what do these blemishes amount to? No more than the bare frailty of human nature; for, tho' humanity is indeed improv'd and rais'd by free Government, yet man will still be man; and his infirmities will appear. Even a whole people, when truly free, and truly and faithfully represented, will oft times do injustices, and whether by their deputies, as in Holland, or

collectively in a body by themselves (as of old in Athens and other democracys), their passions and infirmities will appear, and shew them to be mere men. How much more must this break out when the people are not perfectly represented; but thro' the ease and secure of the Governm^{t}, a few or a select number have the administration of affairs. These men, if in the main they administer well for the publick, will be permitted to rule, and, being supported by their merit with their countrymen in general, they will easily, where they are provoked, revenge themselves tyrannically on a particular person now and then, and by their credit suppress the noise that may be made about. But alass! what is this in comparison to what is endur'd in mere monarchies? how much easier is it for a Prince who has gain'd a great reputation, to suppress a single man? when the perpetual danger of such Governments is, that, no sooner has a Prince done great things for his country, but he has the sovereign power in a manner devolved upon him, and by the foolish zeal of the people is made absolute, almost whether he will or no. For, to go no higher than our own times, what think you had become of

our English Constitution, had King Charles the Second not been a prodigal, King James a bigot, or had King William been victoriouse, and gain'd those advantages, w^ch^, by the blessing of Heaven, have been obtain'd by the common force and united virtue of the two nations led by a private man, and under the good influences of a mild, virtuous, and pious Queen? This I have ventur'd to hint to you, to stop a little that good zeal and generouse indignation, w^ch^ on the account of this private injustice you expressed a little too feelingly: besides that indeed in the very case of this unhappy gentleman (as set forth by himself), there appears a most unhappy conduct, and a plainly mutinouse, seditiouse, and unjust manner of supporting a just cause; for a rude and riotouse appeal to the people is, of all injury's, the greatest that can be offer'd to a free Government, and is most destructive to popular Government itself.

But no more now, but my best wishes to you and all yours.

I am, as ever, faithfully y^rs^,

SHAFTESBURY.

MR. FURLEY, *Chelsea, May 28th,* 1709.

Tho' I delay'd my answer to your former letter (having had a long fitt of my asthma, which kept me a month from this place), I woud not wayt a post, but dispatch instantly what you desir'd of me as to my Lord Townsend,* and have therefore enclos'd a letter to him, which I here send to you to deliver as you see occasion, for I had no other occasion of writing to him but as you desir'd on your own account.

I hope you will excuse my saying more as yet, till I am a little more recover'd; for I am not fitt to apply to any thing as yet.

All our eyes are on your affaires at the Hague, and we expect to hear no more of camps, so I hope you will inform us of what success we are like to have in a way of treaty. For my own part (as you and my other friends well know) I never fear'd nor had the least apprehension in the warr. But now for the first time I begin to know what fear is, and tremble at a peace. I laugh'd at the French

* Lord Townshend had been sent to the Hague as Plenipotentiary to treat for Peace with France.

swords when oppos'd to ours; but I dread the force of corruption, and those other weapons, which they can better manage and we less ably resist. God send us firmness and courage in this sense, and that no weak places be found in the breasts of those that act for either nation! The excessive weakness of France would have forc'd her to comply with any thing we could have asked. But the false politicks of some well-meaning and worthy men in joining with those who still lessen'd her wounds and magnify'd her vigour and remaining power, will be a snare to us in the treaty. For this will infallibly be the occasion of making an indifferent peace pass for a most advantageouse and triumphant one. Whereas, the naval power of France subsisting, and the means of it remaining still in their northern settlements in America of Canada and Quebec, &c. their trade also being likely (by our folly and the general madness of Europe in running after their fashions and manners,) to rise again in a few years, we may yet in our time see the beginning of a more dangerous struggle for the libertys of Europe and mankind.

But I can add no more at present but that I am as ever,

Affectionately yrs.

All kind wishes and congratulations to your son and daughter and all yours.

MR. FURLEY, *Reygate, May 22nd*, 1710.

After the receit of yrs by Harry Wilkinson, I resolved to enquire for a safe hand to carry you an answer from me, that I might be as free as pen and ink will safely allow. And now I have an occasion offered me by the passage of a good lady, who goes over to settle her son at some school where he may be best taught the languages and rudiments of trade; for, tho', as the eldest child, he will be intitled to a moderate estate, yet it being not such as to maintain him properly in the rank of gentry, she prudently resolves to bring him to business, yt, if he gains little by it, he may at least learn industry, avoid idleness, acquire a good habit of frugality, and learn to improve what he has of his own. She is a worthy good lady, and intimate with

my best friends, with whom she has liv'd long in strict friendship. I know you will gladly assist her with your advice, which is all she desires, knowing your character so well, and trusting to your judgment. 'Tis well that Mrs. Melish (the lady I recommend to you) had no other affairs of a troublesome nature; for, whatever respect I have for her, I should refuse to engage you in any concern which might occasion you that fatigue and trouble which you are too apt to give yourself beyond what your strength can bear in a friend's case, or any of a compassionate kind. As much compassion as there was in your Amsterdam acquaintance's, I cannot without regret consider what harm you have done yourself this last winter at your age and in your circumstances of health; I am sorry you set no greater a price upon yourself. Your life surely is too well valued by your good relations and dear friends of long standing to suffer you, without injustice done them, to throw away your health at that rate. And, as for what public service may appear in such a case, surely the ballance lies much stronger another way, and you might justly reserve yourself for better occasions of service to your own

native country,* and the interest of that in which you live :† for, allowing that gentleman's cause was ever so just, yet I am sure, by the papers of his own, which you transmitted me, he prosecuted it in a most unjust, insolent, and, forgive me the word, traiterous manner. For to me the greatest traitor in the world ever was and will be that man, who, under pretence of love to the people, or their interest, will raise them to sedition, appeal to their mults, and gather'd numbers, and attempt to work upon their passions, and incense them to be the executioners of their magistrates. Such was the spirit that destroy'd the generouse pair of patriots in 72, on your side; and such is the disposition of those pretended loyal men on our side, who but a month ago were raising sedition and appealing to the people, whom in their heart they abhor. But, thanks be to God, the sound part of our people were far from being moved; they bore the insolence of the conspirators, and suffer'd many days the insults of a lewd rabble, of wch not one is like to be punish'd by ye Govern-

* England. † Holland.

ment.* They could easily have righted themselves and defended the house and persons of their friends: but so noble a testimony have those called Whiggs given of their regard to magistracy, y^t^ when unprotected and exposed they would do nothing even in their own defence, when, with a word given, they could have suppressd and knocked in head a treble number of such rascally villains as were got together and raised in rebellion by the professors and preachers of submission and loyalty. But such respect ought ever to be borne by all good people towards every Government that stands upon the foundation of laws, and has any thing that may be called a constitution; — that, however unjustly things may for a while, or on some particular occasion be administer'd, they will bear with patience those infirmities and occasional corruptions and mismanagements which are incident to all Governments, and are natural to men as men, rather than by a sudden zeal or animosity in their own or

* This alludes to the turmoils relative to Dr. Sacheverell. The rioters *were* tried three days after the date of this letter; but having pleaded guilty their punishment was very slight. Four were fined twenty nobles each, and eleven fifteen nobles. Complete History of Europe for 1710.

friend's case (when unhappily injur'd or ill dealt with) attempt to unhinge the Government itself, and stirr up the minds of the people against their magistracy and settled form, which fails not to end in cruelty and tyranny. For so the best Commonwealths have been converted into the most absolute tyrannys. And thus, as a friend to y^e^ people, I ever was and must be y^e^ greatest enemy to those who, on any acc^t^ less than immediate impending ruin of their State, shall dare appeal to their tumults, and invite them by their riotouse assemblys to intimidate their Magistrates.

If I have been too warm against sedition in what I have here writt to you on the case of the poor abus'd and much injurd gentleman, for so I truly believe him, notwithstanding what I lay to his charge in another respect, you must remember that it is not only my country's case at present which warms me, but a friend's. 'Tis yourself I am concern'd for, and griev'd to hear how you have expos'd yourself for this gentleman's sake. I hope what you have remaining of health and strength, you will manage better for the future.

As for my own state of health, 'tis so very indif-

ferent, and I have again pass'd another so sad a winter, that I speak feelingly. What I have remaining of life I will employ the best I can, but the less I have, the better I ought to manage it. And this I think my duty as it is yours.

Our good cause is far from sinking, whatever appearance these tumults may have. The admirable patience and moderation of y^e^ Whiggs makes their principles better known as the conduct of the other party exposes theirs. You may rest satisfyed in this I here write you; that tho' the several partys of Torys and other false brethren of the Whiggs are more united and in concert than ever, so that by means of some unfortunate disturbances at Court their party seems prodigiously formidable, yet they never were in a better way of ruining themselves and their cause, nor was the principle of liberty and hatred of slavery and priestcraft ever higher in its ascendant. The Pretender's party may flatter him to some desperate attempt; but the issue is like to be far worse for him than ever; and may only make us see hereditary right mount the scaffold, and the ax employ'd as the law directs, which has long since set that pretence of

right aside, and given us our good Queen over the head of that pretended heir, and the House of Hanover over the other pretenders of Savoy, &c. on the same hereditary foundation.

My kind and affect. remembrances to all y^rs.

I am your sincere and faithful friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

MR. FURLEY, *Reygate, July* 17.

It is with great concern I hear from you of your relaps into your ague or intermitting feavour; and I am still more concerned to hear your physicians are either wholly against your taking the bark, or, what is worse, give it you in trifling quantitys. The time you have delay'd too is enough to prove fatal if your fitts have been many and severe. However, to communicate what I can to you with the utmost expedition (for 'twas but this moment I rec^d your request, and am sending this away as soon as possible,) my first warning to you is to get instantly three or four ounces of the best bark, and get it to be finely powder'd, for if the differ-

ence be so great in coffee, which is drank for plea-
sure, what must it be between pure bark freshly beat into powder, and that which has lain stale in shops, perhaps in paper merely, for days or weeks, if not months together?

This is the first care; next as your disposition is, if requiring cordials, to take it in strong white wine, mountain wine, or what best suits your stomach, otherwise in cool milk-water, or plainly made up in-
to a bolus by some few drops of any innocent syrup. If you are costive it may be in the syrup of violets or syrup of red poppies, especially if you cough, this latter being one of the best remedies of that kind. But the greater fear in taking the bark is the contrary, viz. a looseness, in w^ch it never did nor ever will do good. So that if you are the least inclined this way, and go to stool too often, you must take the bark in half a spoonful of syrup of white poppies (call'd diacodium) and so mixt up as you like it with any comfortable warm still wa-
ters, or restringent strong red wine. In this case syrup of quinces, conserve of red roses, and con-
fectio alcermis will be of use. All must be used to stop such a habit of body, else the bark wil be

in vain, as it will certainly be if the doses are not full and frequent, that is to say, a dram each time till you come to an ounce or ounce and an half: beginning the moment your fit is off, and repeating it every third or fourth hour, being waked in the night on purpose, however sweetly you may sleep, and contriving, as well as you can, that your eating and drinking may be just between the four hours, that you may take your bark two hours after and about as much before any nourishment. The last dose you take going to your first sleep at night should be the furthest off from your supper, because of taking the syrup of white poppys, w^{ch} is best on an empty stomach, and whether you are too open or not, I would have you the first night take your bark in the syrup of that kind going to sleep. But if you are really loose, or find the bark makes you so, you must put a large spoonful to your bark, and join at other times all the comfortable or spicy things you can to stop your laxity. If you can take an ounce, beginning from the ending of the fit, and so in repeated drams till the time you expect the return, you may best stop and ease yourself whilst the time of your next fit is, tho' the

fit come not; and then begin again at the time ye fit would have ended if it had come. If it please God you miss your fit, you may ease yourself by taking the drams slower, or diminishing them to half drams at a time (taking the whole one at night), and so till you have taken the full ounce and an half.

If after this it return I would not have you discouraged from taking the bark anew; if the force of the distemper be once broke by the bark, you may master it if you please, for tho' it return again and again, if weaker every time than other, you are sure to conquer it, if you will follow your blow. But people are faint hearted, desist, and so are conquered by the disease. If you purge, as doctors are too ready to prescribe, you destroy all. A month after will be time to do it, and then mighty gently, and at night the bark again with a large spoonful of syrup of white poppies, and another dram of the bark the moment you awake in the morning, and so till you have taken half an ounce more.

This is yr friend Dr. Locke's and all our ingeniouse and able doctors method. This has sav'd

my life, and but for the bark I could not now live. I am satisfy'd that of all medicines y^{t} physicians ever prescribed, if it be good of the kind and properly given, 'tis the most innocent, and leaves the least harm behind it, whatever bugbear the world makes of it, and especially the tribe of inferiour physicians, from whom it cutts off so much business in a distemper w^{ch} they make the chiefest gain from. In great haste to dispatch this to you, kindest remembrances to all yours, I remain, as ever, yours, SHAFTESBURY.

I sent you a long letter by Wilkinson, ab^{t} publick affairs, w^{ch} continue in the same posture and uncertainty of the Parlemt^{s} dissolution, w^{ch} all good men fear, all ill hope, but we gain time however.

MR. FURLY, *Naples*, 22 *March* 1712.

'Tis a sensible grief to me that I must at one and the same time condole with you on two such melancholy subjects as that of the death of your son,* and that of the life and triumph of the common enemy, his cause, and party in our native country. In the latter of those you know my concern is equal to your own; and, in the former not far behind. Besides my natural friendship for one who was your son, he was in particular, as you well know, my pupil and eleve, in whose education and advancement I took so great a part, that I may justly sympathize even in a fatherly affliction for his loss, and next to a real parent or a brother, he could have none a truer mourner, or with more reason than myself.

I am sorry withal to hear the repeated acc^{t} of your severe cough; as I have sometimes been successfull in prescribing remedys to you, and have learnt much in this kind by my own infirmitys, let me desire you to try a spoonfull of good syrop of white poppyes, or what the apothecarrys call

* Mr. Arent Furly.

diacodium, just on your going to bed. It must be when your stomach is empty long after supper, that you must take it. If you are apt to be loose it will be of double advantage: if bound, it will not do so well: it should not be often repeated. If it be any way inconvenient you will soon find it. There can be no danger in the tryal.

If your ague or intermitting feavour should return, pray spare not to take the bark, as I formerly with good success and particular care directed you in my letters.

My own health has been exceedingly depress'd this winter; of which this latter part has been the coldest known of a long time in this climate. My little conversation, in my chamber, whence I have not been able as yet to stirr, is with some few men of art and science, the virtuosi of this place: as in particular the family and friends of the famous Don Joseph Valetta, of whom the Bp. of Salisbury* speaks so honourably in his Travels. Medals, and pictures, and antiquities, are chief entertainments with us here. And on these subjects I shall have papers now and then to enclose to you to forward:

* Burnet; his Travels were published in 1687.

I wish our Ministers in England may not take them for politicks. They would be much deceived if they should break open my letters in that expectation. Whatever my studys and amusements are, I endeavour still to turn them towards the interests of virtue and liberty in general. As for particular engagem^ts^ in the publick or my country's cause, I am precluded. But whilst I have the least breath or life, nothing can preclude my endeavours to express to my friends, and yourself most particularly, how much I am, as of old, w^th^ constancy and sincerity, &c.

My kind remembrances to y^r^ sons and family, and to such friends as happen to remember me.

Adieu.

MR. FURLY, *Naples*, 19 *July*, 1712.

Tho' I am as little fit as of long time to write to you with my own hand, I am forced to do it, (both Mr. Crelle and my other head servant being sick,) to condole on the most sad shame and reproach of our nation, w^ch^ I never thought to have liv'd to see, and w^ch^ makes my sad health and

little prospect of recovery the less grievouse to me, as a means to end that sense of shame, which I shall ever retain for my country, even tho' it should recover itself from these calamitys, such as it is like to bring on the rest of the world as well as on itself. You have known my heart many years, and that hitherto on all occasions I gave comfort, and was ever on the promising side; till the fatal villainy of the seditiouse priest Sacheveril, and the fall of the old Ministry and Whiggs, never was I dejected till this turn. And now bear me witness in my last retreat into Holland, how hard a part I had upon me to justify and support y^e^ conduct of our two great Ministers, tho' my enemys, and at varience and defyance with us poor Whiggs, whom they called in to save them when it was too late. But 'tis not this I complain of: 'tis of the incredulity or rather unjust suspicions and surmizes w^ch^ some of our good friends in Holland always entertain'd of our Ministry even when they did best, and when by repeated letters from England I engag'd body for body in their behalf. This made me weary of a correspondence I otherwise should have cherish'd to the last. You may remember

in your own house with what difficulty and opposition I satisfyed Mynheer Welant (since dead) of the right views, intention, and capacity of a L^{d} Marlborow and Godolphin. This was before the first campain was over, and at a time when I myself, as well as my party and all poor Whiggs, were the most hardly used by those two Lords, who now can only keep their heads by our endeavours and support. Thus the world runs. But Providence is in all: and every honest man carries his own reward within his breast; I have mine, I bless God, in a good conscience of having done my best, and even brought myself to this weak state of health by my cares and labours for the good interest and cause of liberty and mankind.

Farewell.

I pray God preserve you and family, and the few good in this dishonest generation. Y^{r} old acquaintance and mine, y^{e} L^{d} who negotiates in these parts as Embassador, had better turn General and fight again, this being the fitter part for him. He and the younger Lord you name to me have acted alike honestly, and with the same regard to their

old friends and principles. Pray beware how you trust. Adieu.

Your two last received are of the 21 and 24th. I hope you received a thick pacquet I sent you last post.

MR. CRELL TO MR. FURLY.

SIR, *Naples*, 21 *Feb.* 1713.

Yours of the 27 of Jan. found my Lady Shaftesbury in the greatest affliction, as you can easily imagine, after ye loss of my Lord, who dy'd ye 15th of this month, at 10 o'clock in ye morning. His Lordsp was in a perfect resignation to ye will of God, yt he did not only bear his pains and agonys wth patience, but also wth perfect chearfulness, and ye same sweetness of temper he always enjoyed in ye most perfect health. And tho' he was so mighty weak yt 'tis but seldom his Lordsp could speak, yet whenever he was able, we, who had the honour to be about his person, had ye pleasure as well as improvemt of hearing his wise pious discourses and

admonitions, which I hope will have y^e^ effect on us as I am sure my Lord design'd them for, in making us better every day he liv'd, in order to resign so good a master without repining at y^e^ will of Providence. I would inlarge upon this subject, but his Lords^p's^ distinguisht character and merit is so very well known in Holland, as well as in other Courts of Europe, y^t^ y^e^ Viceroy said, w^n^ I notified him this sad news, y^t^ he would serve y^e^ Countess of Shaftesbury, not only as being Count Borromee of Milan, but as Viceroy of Naples, in behalf of his Imperial Majesty, whose august family ow'd so much to this great genius, who influenced our Parlem^ts^, &c. His Lords^p's^ body is embalm'd and ready to go by sea in a very little while; w^ch^ done, my Lady, according to my Lord's last desires, sets out for Rome, in order to reach England, family, and friends y^e^ soonest possible. I don't know yet w^ch^ route to take, expecting Mr. Molesworth's, the Envoy's at Florence, advice; but I fancy we shall go thro' France, as being y^e^ most expeditious way. You will be so kind as to send our letters back again into England, or whatever else might come to your hands for us after y^e^ receipt of this.

Mr. Wheelock, jun. had orders to adjust y^e^ accounts w^th^ you after his arrival at Rotterdam. My Lord had y^e^ satisfaction to receive your obliging letters till y^e^ very last. All his friends can do, is to lament their loss, among whom none are more sincerely concern'd than,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CRELL.

P. S. My Lady receiv'd yours of y^e^ 24^th^, which came later than it ought to be.

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